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TEXT CHANGES IN THE TAYLOR EDITIONS OF ROBINSON CRUSOE WITH REMARKS ON THE COX EDITION

BY LUCIUS L. HUBBARD

THE following article cannot aspire to be a complete treatise on either of the topics with which it chiefly deals, but should rather be taken as notes contributary thereto. Such as it is, I offer it because I believe that logically we must first ascertain if possible, which, if any, of the early texts of *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, original or amended, is really Defoe's, before we can proceed with confidence to discuss the literary peculiarities of that author, as reflected therein. With this design an analysis of what I may call the mechanics of the Taylor editions, and a review of certain editorial efforts made periodically to improve the text would, I thought, go well together.

To quotations from Taylor's earlier editions I have added rather liberally from his latest (cf. *infra*), and from the Cox edition, for the use of investigators to whom these two are all but inaccessible. This compilation has taken me beyond the limits first planned for my work, but if I have uncovered anything that shall help us better to understand Defoe, I shall be quite content to have undergone the exertions and fatigue incident to the task.

In lieu of a formal table of contents, my subject matter

may be stated to embody: the succession of the Taylor editions; the derivation or provenance of the several editions *inter sese;* the reason for duplicate "editions"; the editorial source, or sources, of text changes; notes on the Cox edition of 1719; and the final Taylor (12mo) edition of 1722.

THE SUCCESSION AND SOURCES *inter sese* OF THE TAYLOR EDITIONS

The early editions of *Robinson Crusoe* published by William Taylor in London, at intervals between 1719 and 1722, contain not only the number of misspelt words that might be expected in a popular book going rapidly and repeatedly through the press, but they contain other typographic faults such as erroneous or ambiguous punctuation and an irregular and inconsistent use of capitals, that remain, or recur irregularly, from edition to edition. The elimination of these faults, according to the practice then generally prevalent, lay particularly within the domain of the compositor. But aside from purely typographic rectifications several of the editions are conspicuous for text changes whose purpose was to improve the defective language of the narrative, by an attempt to correct its grammar or its logic. These, I conceive, may more naturally be ascribed to a higher functionary than the compositor, perhaps to the corrector, if Taylor had one, or to Taylor himself; I do not believe that they were made by Defoe.

It has not commonly been known until recently that

there are in fact eight octavo Taylor editions of Part I of *Robinson*, nor that among them are two "thirds" and two "fourths." Several years ago Dr. Henry C. Hutchins[1] and the writer were studying these editions at the same time, and independently reached the same conclusion as to the order of their issue: first, second, third (Lion), third (Phoenix), fourth, fourth (comma), fifth, and sixth. For details on this subject I shall leave the reader, in the main, to Dr. Hutchins, and merely add some observations that were not made by that scholar or did not come within the scope of his work. For convenience I have designated the earlier of the third editions as the third (Lion), and the later as the third (Phoenix), from the tailpieces at the end of these volumes (Part I), respectively; the earlier of the fourths simply as the fourth, and the later one, as the fourth (comma), or fourth (,), from a comma on the title-page after "LIFE"; or the thirds may be abbreviated third (L.) and third (Ph.), respectively, or cited simply as the Lion and the Phoenix.[2] Beyond an occasional citation from Part II my investigations have to do with Part I only.

As I have indicated briefly in my prefatory note, the object of the following selection of variable text readings from *Robinson Crusoe* is twofold: first, to discover if

[1] See his recent dissertation, *Robinson Crusoe and Its Printing*, 1719–1731 (New York, 1925).

[2] Following Professor Trent, Dr. Hutchins calls the thirds "3T" and "3c," respectively, and the fourths "4A" and "4B," and classifies the latter of the two in each case as an "issue." In these designations by letters there is no association in the mind of the reader, and inadequate as mine may be they at least provide a ready means of identification in the several volumes themselves.

possible a reason for the designation of two editions as third, and of two others as fourth; and second to determine what part, if any, Defoe may have had in the many text changes. Incidentally, also, the Cox edition comes in for consideration. The first topic will be of interest chiefly to bibliographers, but the second concerns a larger circle, and is the more important because in the reprinting of this book (for study purposes) the text should be perpetuated either word for word as Defoe wrote it, or as he intended it should be printed, if that can be ascertained, and while a great deal of caution has been observed by modern editors of "critical" editions, in their conformity to the text of the first edition, they all, I believe, include in their reprints the changes—or most of them—covered by the errata at the end of Part I of that edition. If we can convince ourselves that Defoe had no part in the changes from edition to edition, perhaps we may also be able to believe that he had none in those of the errata.

With a few exceptions the misspellings of each edition were corrected in the next, but these exceptions and the recurrence of faulty punctuation are at times an important aid in the correlation of the successive editions. Sometimes where a misprint was not rectified, but occurs alike in two editions, it inferentially indicates the derivation or "provenance" of one of the editions from the other, and in some cases the earlier one's immediate successor. We may also infer that where six or more new issues appeared, most of them at short intervals after the first, the same "copy,"

for several reasons, would not and probably did not serve for all of them. I do not here use the term "issue" in a technical sense, but merely to designate a product of the printing press.

In an effort to ascertain what I call the "provenance" of the different editions, we may with confidence assume that in general a second edition would be set from the first, rather than from the original manuscript. The late Mr. W. Laidlaw Purvis[1] carried this principle so far as to argue that the so-called "O" edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, an undated, miserable 12mo specimen of typography, was set and printed from a miscellaneous lot of type in advance of any of the octavo editions, for the express purpose of serving as copy for what is now recognized as the first edition.[2] An analogous procedure is in fact recorded by Crapelet.[3]

The second edition of *Robinson Crusoe* shows some betterments that were properly within the sphere of the compositor's responsibility; but as to what we may call "editorial" changes, where the form of expression was inadequate, ambiguous, contradictory, or otherwise faulty, almost none is present. The following errors are common to the first and second editions: "Sig. B, 7.15[4] Winds [Sea];

[1] *Robinson Cruso, A Rejoinder* (London, 1913). Reprinted from the *Library* (July, 1913).

[2] See Hutchins, *op. cit.*, p. 167, for a piece of good correlation work in connection with this volume.

[3] *Etudes pratiques et littéraires sur la Typographie* (Paris, 1837), p. 287.

[4] References are to page and line in any Taylor (8vo) edition, which contains 364 pages. By a simple equation the corresponding page in any other unabridged edition may readily be found.

12.20, of of [of]; C, 22.8, we [they]; O, 197.19, fir'd . . . . of [off]; Z, 346.19, imcumbred." These accordances in the text go to support the general assumption noted above and make it applicable in our case, at least to the signatures named. I have taken the signature or sheet as the unit to which typographic generalizations may properly be made from single pages, subject to exceptions, if any, as they may arise.

The difficulty of my problem will be apparent from a brief comparison of some one sheet from the first edition with the same sheet in the second. Let us take the shortest, the final sheet, Aa, which has only twelve pages and the additional advantage of being nearly identical in both editions. The type of the page numbers in the second edition from sheet Z through Aa is different from that of the sheets which immediately precede them, but is identical with that of the same sheets in the first edition, and that very fact suggests an examination and comparison of the body of the texts. In sheet Z several pages (cf. 348 and 350) appear to be identical, or almost so, in both editions, and may or may not be from the same settings[1]—a question which may be left in abeyance. But in sheet Aa identification is possible on almost every page. This assertion may seem unwarranted, for in the second line of the first page (353) we find in the first edition "already" erroneously followed by a period; in the second, by a comma—an obvious correction. Further, at 355.32,

[1] By the term "setting," for want of a better, I mean a page of type matter, or part thereof, set up for use in the "forms" from which a "sheet" or signature is printed.

"Howling and Yelling" becomes "howling and yelling"—not necessarily a correction for Defoe's day, but possibly so considered in Taylor's establishment, or by the compositor that set up this page (for many similar cases of capitalized participles occur through the volume and in other, contemporaneous books); at 360.11, "a severely cold season" is changed to "a severe cold season"—which, indeed, is not an unusual method of qualification with Defoe; and at 362.15, "Sisters" becomes "Brothers" in conformity with the directions in the errata (364). All of these changes may well have emanated from the compositor without editorial suggestion.

A perhaps natural reaction from these differences in Aa, and from the inability to establish identity of settings in both editions in the previous signature, is that the pages cited are resets in their entirety, and if that be assumed for these pages, why not for the whole sheet unless we can find evidence to the contrary? At the same time we cannot fail to wonder at the very accurate work and apparent absence of individuality on the part of the compositor, who in all these other pages appears to have exactly reproduced his "copy." But the case demands greater scrutiny; and we do find evidence in Aa of the use of the same settings for each edition. A marred *p* in "press'd" (353.16); an irregular *t* in "the" (355.21), *f* in "for" (356.23), *e* in "they" (357.9); and similar imperfections on pages 358, 360, 363, and 364, are well-enough marked and numerous enough to constitute satisfactory evidence of identity. We are thus made aware that settings in whole or in part were

used for two consecutive editions and underwent alterations between such uses—a fact that should keep us on our guard.

The establishment of source connection and propinquity of issue between editions is thus made possible by sheets or by pages printed from common settings, but where this evidence is wanting we are thrown back on other work of the compositor. A tabulation of text differences in this same sheet Aa, from the first to the fourth (,) edition inclusive, is less complicated than would be relatively that of any other sheet, by the fact just pointed out—the absence of a separate and frequently variant text for the second edition. Such a tabulation shows about 140 cases in which at least two of those five editions differ, of which cases about 119 are strictly typographic—43 of spelling, 29 of capitalization, and 47 of punctuation—variants which register the work of probably two or more compositors, and reflect their different typographic individuality, or possibly their carelessness and their haste. What conclusions can we draw from their work that can aid us to ascertain positively what "copy" they used? For example, in this sheet Aa on page 357 in the fourth edition there occurs for the first time the termination "ed" in six cases of the past participle, in place of "'d" in all the earlier ones —a manifest effort at uniformity by the later compositor —and yet on page 361, where he alters another participle the change is in the opposite direction—from "ed" to "'d"! From such examples, where these occur singly or in small number, inferences cannot be drawn with any

confidence that they are correct, and this statement applies perhaps most forcibly to inferences from punctuation, of which Defoe admittedly used little; the various compositors were forced to follow their individual habits, and often to give their own construction to sentences, which sometimes was contrary to the author's intent.

Among typographic details, that of lineation—division of the text into lines—seems to me much on a parity with those mentioned above, and subject to interpretation under caution. For purposes of identifying "copy" the more dependable are the top and bottom lines of the page, and the catchword. These were supposed to correspond, respectively, in the various editions, for in that way the use of the same settings for more than one edition was made possible, as well as composition by two or more persons on different parts of the book at the same time. But even here the personality of the compositor, or perhaps some typographic exigency,[1] asserted itself, and we find as early as the second edition departures from the rule, which culminate in the Phoenix in which are found[2] at least ten variations of this kind, from the first edition. Changes in the body of the page or paragraph, however, were allowed the compositor, and a gradual improvement is noticeable, in a better average distribution of the type,

[1] See Appendix, "Deletions."

[2] Dr. Hutchins (p. 93) correctly cites two cases of catchword as in agreement in the Phoenix and fourth editions, to indicate the proximity of issue of these two editions. He might have cited some ten others, however, in which the fourth agrees with the Lion (cf. 3, 6, 10, 40, 69, 296, 308, 309, 340, 344). This apparent anomaly will be explained later. See 40.37 in the Phoenix and fourth editions, on agreement of text and difference of lineation.

even to the detriment of the last line of the paragraph which in many cases, even in the later editions, still shows more, or less, than the standard amount of white approved for good printing.

Before quitting signature Aa I may add that in the 140 cases of text difference cited, the Lion edition agrees with the second in 120; the Phoenix and the Lion agree, in common with the second, in 51 cases, but with each other in only 2 cases where they disagree with the second. There is, in other words, no general source relationship between the Phoenix and the Lion which excludes or renders improbable the derivation of each of them directly from the second.

That the earlier of the third editions (the Lion) was derived from the edition next immediately before it, the second, rather than from the first, might on general principles be taken for granted, but while that principle of provenance actually does hold in this case, I must record a caveat, for, as just intimated, it does not hold between the two third editions, which were contiguous in point of time; nor later for any edition in its entirety, until we come to the fifth. That the Lion edition came from the second, and that it, rather than the Phoenix, came immediately after the second, might further be assumed, as in the case of the first and second editions previously cited, from the identity in the second and Lion, respectively, of certain pages in certain sheets—printed from the same settings—and of the absence of such identity between the Phoenix and the second. Even where this com-

mon origin is difficult or impossible to establish throughout these sheets for lack of conspicuously irregular type or other distinguishing marks in others of the pages, it is not important to determine whether these too were printed, respectively, from the same settings with space readjustments or in some instances even with partial resets involving text changes.

An even stronger argument for this provenance of the Lion from the second lies in the repetition of three palpable blunders, "Cave" for "Cove" (Sig. F, 65.10),[1] and of two interrogation marks (Sig. E, 56.17; Sig. Z, 346.14) where other punctuation should stand; and in several other less striking agreements, to which reference is made in Tables II and III which will be found in the Appendix. Conversely, however, the Lion edition has "stark calm" (Sig. C, 21.31) in agreement with the first, as against "calm" in the second. This is one of a few cases where we may have to seek an explanation for the apparent failure of presumptive provenance. We may be forced to believe that in some of his work the compositor had access to more than one set of "copy," or possibly at times to the printed sheets of the penultimate edition that carried in their margins corrections for the next one; or again, that he was simply the victim of absent-mindedness. Possibly, in this case "stark calm" was rather the usual expression of the time, or of the compositor personally. Note the expression at 35.21: "The Women were as stark naked as the Men"; and in Part II at page 22, "stark mad."

[1] Cf. also the fourth (,) and subsequent editions (167.11) for a similar case.

CHANGES IN "PRELIMINARY" PAGES

Before going into further particulars on this text relationship of the second and Lion editions I may dispose of the title-page and other preliminary leaves.

The title-page for all editions from the second to the fourth (,) inclusive appears to have been printed from the same setting. This is evident in the two *C*'s in "ACCOUNT," which are from different fonts; from *s* in "Island," the first *e* in "deliver'd," and *o* in "of (the world)" in the fourths. An appropriate insertion was made in the title-page of the fourth edition when the map was first added to Part I.

Identical settings seem also to have been used for the body of the two pages of Preface in the second and Lion editions. On the first page *h* in "Publish'd," *r* in "Wonders," and *M* in "Men" (last line), and on the second page, among other examples, the *u* in "Instruction," are alike in both editions. "PREFACE" has a period after it, at the head of the first page in each of these editions, also in the running head on the next page, in the second; but nothing at the latter place in the Lion.

For the Phoenix, the fourth, and the fourth (,) editions in common these two pages were reset. "PREFACE" has a comma after it on the first page, and the left leg of its *A* is marred; as in the second edition there is a period in the running head of page ii. In "Modesty" (p. i) the right leg of the *M* is slightly defective at the bottom, at least in the Phoenix and fourth. On page ii "their" is wrongly substituted for "there," "disputed" for "dis-

patch'd," in common with the Lion edition, and "things" capitalized. In line 10 "it" is followed by a semicolon instead of a colon. A broken *E* in "Events" in the Phoenix edition is replaced in the fourth.

The change of "dispatch'd" to "disputed" is important because it is perhaps the most radical of all the text changes in this edition. To dispatch a narrative of travels, whether true or fictitious, may mean to read it without reflection or self-improvement and cast it aside, as appears to be the interpretation of this passage by Mr. Aitken and others.[1] This is quite different from disputing its truth. The editor (?) of the Lion edition has therefore given to the phrase a meaning quite foreign to that of the original text. Moreover, in making the substitution he or the compositor has also printed "[is] their [any]" for "there," a form of spelling for the adverb that I have been able to find nowhere else in the first edition of Part I; nowhere in Defoe's *New Voyage*, and but once in the *Compleat English Gentleman* (254). "There" for "their" occurs in Part II at 327.36, and once in the fourth edition, Part I, at 283.1.[2] "Their" for "there" occurs again in Part I, in the Phoenix (93.24) and three times in the fourth (91.11, 127.37, and 231.27). The evidence thus points to the compositor as responsible for the substituted "their" in the Preface.

That "dispatch'd" was not a misreading of Defoe's manuscript is made likely by examples from the *Compleat*

[1] See Hastings, *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 40 n.

[2] First word in first line. On the preceding page the catchword is correctly spelled "their."

English Gentleman. In the manuscript of the latter[1] I have found two forms of "dispute" ("Dispute" and "Disputing") in contiguous lines (p. 8), and the combination "atch" in "over-matching" (p. 118), two of which are here reproduced in facsimile (Plate I). There seems to have been not even a possibility of confusing Defoe's "puted" with his "patched." A student of *Robinson Crusoe* would scout the idea that Defoe himself could have intervened here in one solitary case to make so radical a change while leaving so many self-evident errors unnoticed.

CHANGES IN THE BODY OF THE TEXT

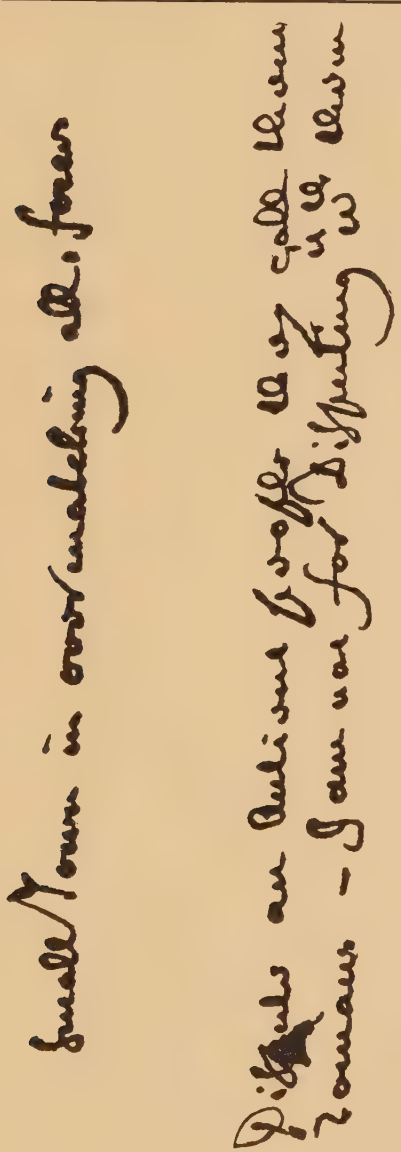
There were perhaps a larger number of changes introduced into the Lion edition than into the second, but they in like manner consist essentially in improvements in typographic technique that indicate a step forward in the progress toward standardization on the part of the printer.

According to both English and French practice, as gathered from Moxon[2] and from Crapelet, it was not the negligence of the compositor that left faulty passages incomplete or uncorrected. Rather lack of editorial or critical scrutiny was to blame. While, on the one hand, the tendency is apparent in the later editions to depart from certain peculiarities of orthography that may be imputed to Defoe because of their repeated presence in the first edition (such as from "humane" to "human," from

[1] For photostat copies of parts of this manuscript I am indebted to Dr. Alfred C. Lane, of Cambridge, Mass.

[2] *Mechanick Exercises: Or, the Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Printing.* (London, 1683; reprinted.)

PLATE I



HANDWRITING OF DEFOE, SHOWING "DISPUTE" AND "ATCH"

"murther" to "murder," the termination of the past participle in "t" to "ed," and in an inconsistent use of some tenses and of italics), the text does not always betray such a familiarity with the narrative on the part of the corrector or editor as would otherwise have led to an early betterment of passages in which the meaning is ambiguous or contradictory (175.33; 177.6).

But the problem becomes more difficult when we examine the Phoenix edition. That the Phoenix text did not emanate from the Lion is quite apparent from passages where, in the Lion edition, changes were made for the first time. None of these, I believe, is found in the Phoenix. Of course, the changes that originated with the Phoenix would not be found in the Lion, because the former edition is the later of the two. The Phoenix, like the Lion, was in turn derived from the second edition, except that some pages in sheets T(?) and U in the former two were printed from identical settings. Compare pages 289 (with resets) (Plates II and III),[1] 291, 294, 295 (with resets), 298, 299, 301–4 (some with resets). Possibly other pages in this signature are in the same category (see Table II).

In introducing Tables II and III, I may remind the reader that a different wording in the same passage in two editions of the same book apparently but not necessarily denies the relationship of provenance between the two; and that text alterations made inadvertently or otherwise by the compositor, or advisedly by the editor, need not have

[1] Compare the following: *z* in "Hazards," l. 8; *a* in "Making," l. 19; *si* in "Provisions," l. 21; and *w* in "after-wards," l. 36.

to the *Havana*, being directed to leave their Loading there, which was chiefly Hides and Silver, and to bring back what *European* Goods they could meet with there; that they had five *Portuguese* Seamen on Board, whom they took out of another Wreck; that five of their own Men were drowned when the first Ship was lost, and that these escaped thro' infinite Dangers and Hazards, and arriv'd almost starv'd on the *Cannibal* Coast, where they expected to have been devour'd every Moment.

He told me, they had some Arms with them, but they were perfectly useless for that they had neither Powder or Ball, the Washing of the Sea having spoil'd all their Powder, but a little, which they used at their first Landing to provide themselves some Food.

I ask'd him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had form'd no Design of making any Escape? He said, They had many Consultations about it, but that having neither Vessel, or Tools to build one, or Provisions of any Kind, their Counsels always ended in Tears and Despair.

I ask'd him how he thought they would receive a Proposal from me, which might tend towards an Escape: And whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him with Freedom, I fear'd mostly their Treachery and ill Usage of me, if I put my Life in their Hands; for that Gratitude was no inherent Virtue in the Nature of Man; nor did Men always square their Dealings by the Obligations they had receiv'd, so much as they did by the Advantages they expected. I told him, it would be very hard, that I should be the Instrument of their Deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their Prisoner in *New Spain*, where an *Englishman* was certain to be made a Sacri-

to the *Havana*, being directed to leave their Loading there, which was chiefly Hides and Silver, and to bring back what *European* Goods they could meet with there; that they had five *Portugueſe* Seamen on Board, who they took out of another Wreck; that five of their own Men were drowned when firſt the Ship was loſt, and that theſe eſcaped thro' infinite Dangers and Hazards, and arriv'd almoſt ſtarv'd on the *Cannibal* Coaſt, where they expected to have been devour'd every Moment.

He told me, they had ſome Arms with them, but they were perfectly uſeleſs for that they had neither Powder or Ball, the Waſhing of the Sea having ſpoil'd all their Powder, but a little, which they uſed at their firſt Landing to provide themſelves ſome Food.

I ask'd him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had form'd no Deſign of making any Eſcape? He ſaid, They had many Conſultations about it, but that having neither Veſſel, or Tools to build one, or Proviſions of any Kind, their Counſels always ended in Tears and Deſpair.

I aſk'd him how he thought they would receive a Propoſal from me, which might tend towards an Eſcape: And whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him with Freedom, I fear'd moſtly their Treachery and ill Uſage of me, if I put my Life in their Hands; for that Gratitude was no inherent Virtue in the Nature of Man; nor did Men always ſquare their Dealings by the Obligations they had receiv'd, ſo much as they did by the Advantages they expected. I told him, it would be very hard, that I ſhould be the Inſtrument of their Deliverance, and that they ſhould afterwards make me their Priſoner in *New Spain*, where an *Engliſhman* was certain to be made a Sacri-

a negative correlative significance in a comparison of this kind. As evidence they are simply neutral. I have, therefore, marked what I believe to be cases of the first kind "typ.," to indicate that in my opinion they may be disregarded. I think, however, that most of these so-called typographic changes—they are not always errors—can readily be recognized by the reader, and that the preponderance of text agreements, if given due consideration, will sustain the outline of procedure portrayed herein for the "composition" of the Taylor editions.

On the other hand, the recurrence in a later edition, of an obvious error, while it may of course be accidental, creates a presumption of retroactive source relationship which cannot be ignored. For example, two errors of this kind occur in signature B in the first edition, and are repeated in the second. One is the superfluous "of" in "of of" (12.20), already cited, which also occurs in the Phoenix but not in the Lion; the other is recognizable from the context—"the Wind began to blow, and the Winds [Sea] to rise" (see Table III).

In the third (Phoenix) edition not only do we find traces of negligence on the part of the compositor, but, on the other hand, we recognize the display of a remarkable familiarity with the text and the apparent exercise of a critical judgment on the part of someone, which might argue strongly for Defoe's participation in what I have called its "editorial text changes." This combination is rather illuminating, for it indicates that the editor, whoever he was, left the orthographic part of the workman-

ship—in the narrower sense— to the compositor, who in turn failed to eliminate ambiguity where it was most apparent, i.e., he went little farther than to correct cases of misspelt words, and in matters of punctuation seems often to have followed his own bent, without regard to consistency. A similar display of critical acumen occurs again in the fourth (,) edition, less prominently perhaps because there was then less occasion for its exercise, but its prominence in the Phoenix may lead us to ask ourselves at this point how far it was proper for an editor, although he owned the copyright, to make changes in a text he was about to publish. I can cite one such instance, where Bowyer[1] was thanked for having thus acted apparently on his own initiative. That some changes were needed in Robinson's narrative was manifest from the strictures of Charles Gildon,[2] and Defoe may have been glad to correct personally, or to have another correct for him, the points on which he was most assailable. But the spirit of change in the Phoenix edition goes rather more searchingly into the text than was necessary to meet those strictures; and as strikingly ignores others. To most of the changes the author could not under the circumstances take exception, even if made without his authorization. The main point at issue is whether they are of such a nature that a good critic could not have made them without the author's aid.

[1] *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer. By John Nichols* (London, 1782), p. 382 n.

[2] *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Daniel Defoe, etc.* (London, 1719).

The examples in Table II support the assertion previously made that the Lion and Phoenix editions, respectively, have a common origin in the second, rather than that the Phoenix was derived from the Lion, for in three cases (43.6; 170.3 and 181.18) the Phoenix reverts to the errors of the second, instead of following the correct text of the Lion; and the numerous innovations of the Lion edition are not found in the Phoenix.

The readings of the fourth and fourth (,) editions are not carried out in Table II, but they indicate in general the provenance of those editions as shown in Table III.

My readers now have before them two "editions," each denominated "third," neither of which contains the betterments that originated in the other, and each of which therefore is in this respect complementary to the other, except as to parts of two sheets or signatures. It may be suggested that if the two "thirds" were set and printed coterminously, we might expect to find in the Phoenix, also as we do in the Lion, pages printed from second-edition settings.

I now refer the reader to Table III, which contains about a hundred cases selected to show the important changes in the text, as well as the provenance of the later Taylor editions. It is derived from a list of more than double the number, representative of text errors with their repetition or their alteration. Even this larger list was not exhaustive, for I had to omit from it most of the misspelt words, orthographic variations, and cases of obsolete

or erroneous punctuation, because—if I may be allowed to repeat—in these cases it is obviously impossible to distinguish between intent and accident, and hence no satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from such examples, unless perhaps because of their frequency. The table, therefore, is an exhibit in condensed form of the progressive, or at times retrogressive, stages through which parts of the text passed in Taylor's establishment. But I have included in it a few of the purely typographic changes, or those assumed to be such, principally to serve as corroborative evidence in cases where the other evidence may not be considered sufficient to establish provenance.

Table III seems not only to confirm the derivation of the Lion and Phoenix editions separately from the second, but also to show in what signatures the fourth was derived from the Phoenix. In the case of signature B it may be difficult to show that the compositor was confined altogether to the Lion edition for his copy. I refer particularly to page 14, of which I shall again speak later.

Dr. Hutchins[1] calls attention to sheet H in the fourth edition and to its close correspondence typographically with the first edition, which I have not been able elsewhere to assign as copy for any edition after the second. The apparent anomaly in this instance may have come about by some accidental substitution in the printing-house. One can hardly ascribe the correspondence to uniformity of habit of the compositor, even if the same man happened to set up both editions. On the other hand,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

a comparison between the first and second editions, of the extracts from signature H cited by Hutchins, fails to show a single case of conformity, which, considering the general relationship of these two editions, is quite as hard to explain. This is a very good example of the difficulty of drawing satisfactory conclusions from purely typographic data. However, the provenance in these exceptional cases is not important; the main fact being quite apparent that the two fourth editions, like the thirds, have, with a few exceptions, no interdependence other than indirectly, in the latter case through one common ancestor (the second) and in the other through two (the two thirds).

Perhaps these facts call for a restatement of the term "issue" versus "edition," in which the parentage—or as I have used the term, the provenance—of the volume at stake may have some weight, in spite of the vagaries of the printer.

I have not included in the tables any extracts from the fifth or sixth editions. These two are apparently printed from identical settings, and are a close copy of the fourth (comma). Technically, I suppose, one of them is an "issue," not an "edition."

The general result of my investigation as indicated in the tables is shown graphically in the appended diagram (Plate IV), which expresses the supposition that most of the first half (signatures C, E–G, H?, I–N) of the fourth edition was set from the third (Phoenix) text, and the second half altogether from the third (Lion). Thus only a few more than half of the "editorial" improvements in

each of the third editions, reckoned by pages, were transmitted to a new edition at this time.

Similarly, to supplement the number of copies contemplated from the settings for the fourth edition, the still unutilized halves of the Lion and the Phoenix were used as copy for the fourth (comma), except that sheets D, G, H, and Aa were apparently set from the fourth edition. Several readings show that the Phoenix sheet (D) which contains the inserted date, could not have been used here throughout, as the fourth could have been and evidently was. Thus the fourth (comma) edition is seen to contain the changes (some of them improvements) in the Lion and Phoenix that were not embodied in the fourth. The two fourths therefore stand in the same complementary relationship as the two thirds. Neither is complete in itself, as to the improvements—mostly editorial—that were introduced into the work after the first edition. These betterments of nearly half of each third are missing from the fourth, but go directly over to the fourth (comma) from the thirds, except for the four signatures just mentioned, which are transmitted to it through the fourth. In like manner, the fourth (comma) lacks almost all the betterments from the first half of the Phoenix and from the last half of the Lion.

There is, then, no definitive or final edition by Taylor, up to and including the fifth, that embodies all the typographic skill of the compositor and the literary acumen of the editor. By the same token, I see in this method of the printer very compelling evidence to make me believe that

Defoe can have had nothing to do with the editorial betterments of the Phoenix edition, and if not with these, with no others, for otherwise they would or should all have been embodied in the final Taylor editions, the fifth and sixth (see pp. 53 *et seq.* for comments on the 12mo [Taylor's last] edition of 1722).

An explanation for the Taylor procedure above outlined may possibly be found in a rule that originated before Defoe's time in compositors' unions, which limited the number of copies that might be printed from one set of forms, unless there was other work to keep the compositors occupied.

In *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London* (reprinted by Edward Arber), IV, 22, paragraph 6,[1] this rule is epitomized in the words "No forms to be kept standing." In the same paragraph the number of copies allowable for a single edition is stated; for nonpareil (modern 6 point) not more than 5,000; for brevier (modern 8 point), 3,000; for all other type (larger?) 1,500 or 2,000 at the most, except for good reasons "showed to the Master and Wardens," and then only 3,000. The type of Taylor's *Robinson Crusoe* was nearly equivalent to our 12 point. The number of copies of each of the Taylor issues to the fourth (,) inclusive may therefore have been about 1,500. Of the fifth and sixth editions we may surmise that the number of each was approximately half as many, since the body of the text of

[1] I am indebted for this reference to Dr. George Parker Winship.

these two editions was run off from the same forms at one printing, and the title page for the sixth, in red and black, was specially prepared.

By the double use of settings in the several cases noted Taylor may have encroached on the rule above cited, but his procedure seems to have been a substantial compliance therewith. That his duplication was not greater may have been due in part to other considerations than the fear of professional trouble, namely, to the limited amount of type of the right sort at his command. Let us look into the character and kinds of the fonts used in these editions.

Dr. Hutchins[1] has given the "sections" into which the second, third (L.), and fourth editions, respectively, are divided by differences of type. I have tabulated his figures with similar data on later editions, and hope by their aid to sustain Hutchins's conclusion that all of the Taylor editions were prepared by Taylor himself.[2]

At least two of the six fonts used by Taylor in *Robinson Crusoe* are so much alike that they are not always easy to distinguish. For my differentiation in general I have had to depend entirely on the capital letters, of which Y, M, W, and R have been the most serviceable. Even when the caps have seemed to agree I have at times been more or less suspicious of changes in the lower case from page to page. This may have been due either to a difference in font, or to the condensation and extension, respectively, of the same font. Again, the amount of ink used and the varied porosity of the paper in different

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 74, 77–80.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32, 101, 102.

parts of the volumes have added to my perplexities. With this explanation I offer the results of my examination subject to correction.

In my tabulation the letters in parentheses indicate the text type of the several "sections" or divisions. I use letters in lieu of a more specific designation which, as a matter of fact, I am unable to furnish, for both type and name have probably in most cases long since fallen into disuse. Letters in brackets indicate similarly the varieties of page-number type. These varieties are usually continuous and coterminous with a regular text type, but occasionally run short of it. By "regular" I mean a type used for quite a number of pages in succession—not for an obviously emergency substitute.

2d Ed. Sigs. B–O, pp. 1–208, (A) [**B** (1–128), **C** (129–208)]; P–S, 209–72, (B) [**B**]; T–Y, 273–336, (C) [**D**]; Z–Aa, 337–64, (A) [**E**].

3d (*L*) *Ed.* Sigs. B–Q, pp. 1–240, (A) [**A** (1–96), **C** (97–160), **E** (161–240)]; R–U, 241–304, (B) [**B**]; X–Aa, 305–64, (C) [**D**].

3d (*Ph*) *Ed.* Sigs. B–G, pp. 1–96 (10 alternations of type), (A, D, E) [**A**]; H–N, 97–192, (C) [**F**]; O–S, 193–272, (A) [**A**]; T–Aa, 273–364, (B) [**B**].

4th Ed. Sigs. B–X, pp. 1–321(½), (A) [**A**]; Y–Aa, 321(½)–364 (6 alternations of type) (A, D) [**A**].

4th (,) *Ed.* Sigs. B–O, pp. 1–208 (48 alternations of type) (A, D, E) [**A**]; P–T, 209–88, (A) [**G**]; U–Aa, 289–364, (E) [**F**].

5th Ed. Sigs. B–Y, pp. 1–336, (A) [**G** (1–192), **A** (193–336)]; Z–Aa, 337–64 (8 alternations of type) (A, D) [**A**].

We may assume from the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, and from each volume of the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, that at a normal speed, whatever that was, in Defoe's day the body of a book could be printed

from one font. However, when haste was desired, the usual amount of type of a given font might not suffice to allow printing from the forms and distribution of the type for re-use in the same volume without retarding the time of publication. The employment of three fonts for the second and third (Lion) editions therefore seems to indicate an adjustment that answered the speed requirements. We see that in those editions the stem font (A), the one used throughout for the first edition—or one like it—and for the early sheets of each of the others, served for only about 240 pages, and in the case of the second edition enough of it from the early forms may have been released to print the final 28 pages and to supply the early pages of the third (Lion). This process was repeated, in the last-named edition, with three fonts, but the Phoenix was evidently begun before the Lion was finished, for apparently only 59 pages of the stem font were available at first; then recourse was had to substitutes (D) and (E), until Sig. O was reached, when a further supply of (A) was at hand.[1]

The completion of the Phoenix edition probably followed immediately after that of the Lion, or it may have occurred at the same time, as may be inferred from the identity, in both, of Sigs. T(?) and U. This tallies with the supposition that Taylor intended them to be considered as one edition—the third—without technical distinction.

[1] In this connection it is of interest to note that a marred *W* in Sig. I, 113.15 (Ph. ed.) probably recurs in Sig. M, 164.25, i.e., about three sheets later, which observation, if dependable, gives an approximate measure of the speed of type-distribution, composition, and presswork.

In like manner, the composition and printing of the fourth (,) edition began rather hectically while the stem font was in use in the fourth, for in the first 208 pages of the former we find at short intervals 48 alternations of that font with substitutes (D) and (E), and the last 156 pages end with 80 pages from (A) and 76 pages from (E), the former of which for this brief use may be said to have become a "regular" font, as designated above.

With an edition on the market in each of two instances, the third and the fourth, each of them possibly of double the usual number of copies, sufficient pause was made to prepare, in the first case the fourth, and in the second the fifth, from the stem font to within a few pages of the end, when here also substitute type (D) had to be employed—in each case. The composition and printing of the fourth and fifth editions thus again appears to have been much alike, except that the fifth, according to the diagram (Plate IV), is assumed to have been derived solely from the fourth (comma).

It was not, then, until after the issuance of the Lion edition that emergency fonts were called into use to speed completion, and were employed in all subsequent Taylor (8vo) editions. Although fonts (B) and (C) were used only in small quantity, I have not put them into the emergency class, because of their better quality and appearance and because they never appear in detached pages.

The interrelation and use of the several varieties of type of both classes (text and page) is such as further to justify the inference that all of them belonged in one estab-

lishment. Moreover, whatever laxity Taylor might tolerate in his own shop, for reasons best known to himself, it is not likely that he would be tendered or would accept from an outside printer a job like either the Phoenix or the fourth (,) edition, marred as they were by an ill assortment of partly antiquated or obsolescent type varieties. On the typographic faults present in these two editions we need

PLATE IV

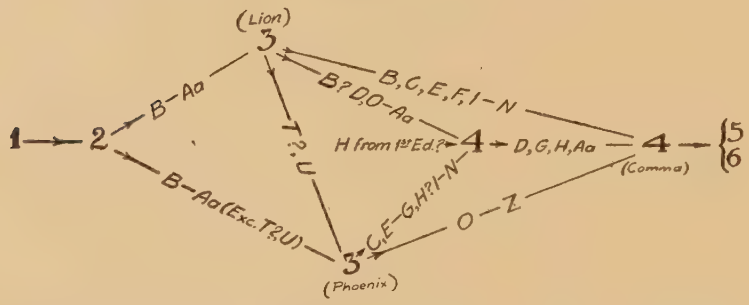


Diagram Derived from Table III, to Illustrate the Provenance, by Signatures, of the Taylor Editions of *Robinson Crusoe*.

not lay undue stress, nor base any argument by comparison, for similar faults are in evidence in all the others, most prominently perhaps in the fourth, with its almost unbroken succession of stem or standard type. Taylor, by overlooking these errors and by suffering the anomalous combination of type, effected a double gain in time.

The allotment of certain sheets as copy, shown in the diagram (Plate IV), for the composition of the fourth and fourth (,) editions is perhaps the strongest evidence for the printing of these editions in one and the same establish-

ment. This allotment also seems to indicate the employment—not of course simultaneously—of more than one compositor on the same font in one edition, which would account for some typographical inconsistencies due to difference of personality. Again, where two different fonts of type were used in the same sheet, as in the fourth (,) two compositors might set simultaneously.

The apparently indiscriminate type alternation in the last-named edition is in part explained if we arrange the pages in the order of the outer and inner forms. One instance may suffice for illustration. In Sig. O, pages 193–208, the pages by fonts run A, E, E, A/D, A, E, E, D, A, E, E, D, A, E, E, A. In the order of the forms they run A, A, A, A/D, A, D, A, D, E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E. The compositor busy on the outer form with (A) supplemented his shortage with (D), while another compositor may have been at work on the inner form with (E), without the delay of having to change his place for substitute type; and then continued to set with the same type from page 289 to the end of the volume, while the first one completed the 80 pages from 209 to 288 with the stem type (A). This would save time.

But with the fourth edition the type in the first half is uniform, so far as I can judge, and in this case I can offer no explanation for the allotment of copy that would equally hasten the speed of composition. Speed was indicated rather in the failure to correct the misspelt words.

As to page-number fonts, they do not in all cases seem to have been coextensive, as I have previously noted,

with fonts used for the text, nor of a correlated pattern.[1] We find two combinations where the same fonts of page numbers and text, respectively, go together, as A [A] and B [B], but these are in the minority. Further, with the frequent alternations of text type the same font of page numbers is continuous; but with the stem font (A) we find associated [B], [E], and [G]. Here I may also note that in the page numbers there are frequent cases of wrong font.

With the aid of the foregoing list of type fonts used in the different editions, and of our diagram, we can determine by a process of abstraction the settings which alone could be duplicated in the second of two successive editions. These are as follows:

Second and Third (*L*); Sigs. B–O (pp. 1–208); R–S (241–72); X–Y (305–36).

Of these sheets we have already established at least partial identity in C, D, E, R, and S.

Second and Third (*Ph.*): only sundry pages in B–G (1–96).

On a comparison of these pages no identities were distinguishable.

Third (*L.*) *and Third* (*Ph.*): Sigs. O–Q (193–240), and T–U (273–304).

Of these, T–U are in part identical in both editions; O–Q are not.

Third (*L.*) *and Fourth;* as to type fonts, only B–G (1–96) can be identical; as to text readings, only B and D, which, in fact, are not.

Third (*Ph.*) *and Fourth;* similarly to the preceding, in the type used identity were possible only in sundry pages in B–G (1–96), in none of which, however, is it found.

[1] See also Hutchins, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Fourth and Fourth (,)*:* no identity is possible.
Fourth and Fifth: identity could be possible in Sig. O (193–208), but is not recognizable.

In short, the several fonts and the differing text readings are so interlocked in the several editions that after the second and Lion a common use of any setting for two successive editions was not possible, consistently with the effort made to preserve uniformity, in the greater part of the several texts. We now recognize at least one reason why Taylor did not repeat the extensive double use of settings shown in the second and Lion editions.

There remain, then, for further consideration only Sigs. X–Y in the second and Lion editions, and the other sheets in the B–O group, viz., B, F–N. In the latter there are enough differences to exclude them from identity in the two editions. In X–Y our conclusions can rest merely on the close resemblance of the printed page in typographic details to the supposed original, for there are no earmarks by which identity can be demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt. It is true that in the first ten pages of X there are, all told, only eleven typographic differences between the two editions. In the last ten pages of Sig. U, by contrast, there is an average of ten per page. If the eleven changes in question represent self-evident corrections, or if they can be reasonably interpreted as improvements, we may be justified in a belief that they were introduced into a setting already used for a previous edition. Pages 305, 307, 309, 331, and 334 appear to be identical, respectively, in the two texts; the only difference I have

been able to discover on page 335 is a small figure "2" in the lower margin of the Lion copy, which may have been added between printings. In several pages the only apparent differences are in the spacings, which of course must have been as legitimate objects for improvement as the lineation, although not equal to it in importance. However, there are in other parts of each of these volumes many pages, only once printed, that appear to have been set with a care equal to that displayed here, and they warn us against a too positive conclusion of identity in two successive editions, based on a close resemblance. For these reasons I prefer to leave in abeyance the question of identity of the settings used for X–Y in the second and Lion editions.

A brief résumé of the progress of these various editions through the press may now fittingly be made. The first edition, with its uniformity of type, having proved the popularity of the book, work was begun on a second, and soon afterward on a third, the Lion. The latter besides the half-dozen settings used in it in common with the second, appears also to have been set largely in the other parts from the same source, although it is possible that the first edition contributed something thereto. These two editions (second and L), each beginning with the font used in the first, were set from the same or similar fonts of type in successive sections, which thus made possible the double use of some of the settings without a break in the typographic symmetry. That the whole number of sheets necessary for two editions were not (in all cases) run off

continuously is evident occasionally from the different positions of the page number and signature letters in the two editions, and at times even more so by changes made in the body of the page. The forms were unlocked between printings.

Meanwhile, a copy of the second edition was taken in hand for special revision, during which process the text underwent some radical changes, notably on page 14, and from this "copy" the third (Phoenix) edition was set and printed. For the first ninety-six pages an adequate supply of the type used at the beginning of the preceding editions was not available, which fact, together with the use of settings from T and U for both the Lion and the Phoenix, indicates a possible overlapping by the Phoenix, of the second as it does of the Lion.

For the composition of the fourth and fourth (,) editions a copy of each of the thirds was divided, alternate halves and some alternate signatures of the first halves being assigned to different compositors, two for each of the new editions. The fourth, like the Lion, had the right of way, or rather right of type, for with the exception of a half-page (p. 321) it used a uniform font down to the last ten pages of the volume; the fourth (,) on the contrary, as already stated, had in the first 208 pages 48 alternations of standard or "regular" type with obsolescent type. The quasi-symmetry of the division of copy was broken by the withholding of Sig. B from the other early Phoenix sheets, and substitution therefor of the corresponding sheet from the Lion edition. We may infer that this indicates a dis-

approval of the Phoenix text of page 14, which nowhere appears later, although the retention from it of "Strand" as a substitute for "Shore" in one place seems to have been sanctioned.

Plate IV shows the earlier member of the fourth edition group as embodying, however incompletely, new material (text corrections) from the third-edition group; and the later member, with like incompleteness, supplementary material from the same sources. Whether so intended or not, this seems like a tacit recognition of the third pair and fourth pair, respectively, as entities.

If there be any doubt as to the order of issue of the two members of each of these groups, it might be well to designate them provisionally as *x* and *y* rather than as "first" and "second."

Dr. Hutchins's sixteen examples (p. 96) of accordance between the fourth (,) and the fifth, taken alone, show probable source but not necessarily propinquity, for when compared with the same passages in the fourth, which lies admittedly next to the fourth (,), they also show with a single exception (101.14) that the fourth and fourth (,) are here radically different, both in punctuation and in spelling. Thus the citations shed no light on the relative times of issue of the two earlier editions. The diagram teaches us that there is no direct source relationship be-between these two editions that can determine that question, unless we can find it in one of the four Sigs. D, G, H, or Aa, and further, very positively, that source relationship and propinquity are not synonymous terms. The diagram

might as well have been drawn with 4 (,) preceding 4 in the order of position.

I have not examined the fifth edition as I have the others, to trace the source of each signature, because my purpose seemed to have been accomplished without this additional labor. Besides, my study of the type fonts used in these editions came after my other work was done, and I had been moved by arguments similar to those which Dr. Hutchins has set forth for the relative positions of the fourth editions. I shall let my former statements stand on the relationship of the fourth to the fourth (,), because I still believe them to be supported by the small amount of evidence available, and add a new observation which seems corroborative thereof.

First, let me say that a page-by-page examination of the final Sig. Aa, whose position shows the very late connection between the fourth and fourth (,), reveals the fact that the fifth in that signature may have been drawn from both the fourth and the fourth (,), so far at least as typographic accordances and disagreements may be accepted as evidences for or against source (cf. pp. 353, 357, 360, and 361, in which the fifth and fourth agree; and disagree with the fourth [,]). For a further inference against the derivation of the fifth wholly from the fourth (,), we have the evidence cited by Hutchins from Sigs. T and Aa (5th ed.), which lack the words "Part I" at the bottom of the first signature page. This may not have been purely accidental. The compositor of the fifth probably set T from the fourth (,) and Aa (whose first page is 353) from

the fourth. In neither case did the "copy" have the signature number. The compositor followed his copy, and someone failed to note and correct the discordance with the other signatures of the fifth edition.

Coming finally to what has seemed to be the strongest evidence in favor of the priority of the fourth to the fourth (,), we find it in the comma after "LIFE" on the title-pages of the fourth (,) and the fifth, which seems logically to place these two editions in propinquity, unless we are prepared to think that the comma in question might have been used in one edition (4th[,]) and discontinued in the next (4th?), only to reappear—as with the seal of approval—in a third (5th), which of course was possible but not probable.

Possibly a new observation may serve as corroborative evidence on the accepted position of these fourth editions. We have seen that the same type or rather setting was used, in the title-page, with the changes recorded earlier in this paper, for all editions from the second to the fourth (,) inclusive. The (Lion or the) Phoenix pattern was thus the immediate predecessor of one or other of the fourths. In it we find the "CRUSOE" with a slightly wider interval between *O* and *E* than that between any other two of its letters; and a comma close to *E*. In the fourth edition this interval has been made uniform with the others, probably by lifting out a lead from before *E* and inserting it immediately behind *E*, leaving the comma undisturbed, and consequently farther than before from the *E*, by the width of the lead. For the fourth (,) this comma was

moved closer to *E*, as in all editions before the fourth, and the comma after "LIFE" inserted—both of which changes find confirmation in the newly set title-page of the fifth.

Finally, it may be said that the evidence from the title-page is of greater weight than that from provenance. In the latter case recourse is had to a text not necessarily of the most recent origin, but for the title-page there could be but one origin—the type used in the edition last printed, and kept ready for further use.

Let us now consider some other important text changes, beginning with

THE ERRATA

The list of twenty errata on the last page of the text in Part I of the first edition accommodates itself to the space that would otherwise be blank, or be occupied by a tailpiece. In that list nothing between pages 9 and 274 is marked for correction, and so important a matter as the omitted date of Robinson's departure from Brazil (46) is passed over in silence. The first item in the list contains a misprint, "1601" for "1661." Of the errata, at least five are typographic, three others are correctable from the context, and all of these could have been amended by the compositor and the editor. Seven are comprised in the details of the mutiny. Besides the latter, three deserve consideration. Taking them up out of order, let us begin with:

274.12 *dele* "else" in "nothing else more than."

This change seems to have been suggested merely to cure redundancy, but the original phrase may consistently be left in company with "walk'd . . . . on foot" (Part I, 14.19; Part II, 318.19); "usual customary" (Part II, 166.32); "stepp'd upon the Ground with his Feet" (Part I, 102.18); "chew'd it in my Mouth" (109.32); "about three Mile or thereabout" (167.23; cf. also 239.31); and pass as current with expressions used in Defoe's day, like "advance forwards," and "Drowned in the Water" (Cox ed. of *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 33). Nay, on the same page as the corrected phrase (274.13), we find "close almost down to the Sea"; and 276.18 "all the very Soul within me."

288.31 *dele* "which is near that Number."
334.17 for "the time" read "that time."

In a conversation between Robinson and the Spaniard shortly after the latter's rescue with Friday's father, Friday acting as interpreter, Robinson says: "I understood that there were sixteen more of his Countrymen and *Portuguese*, which is near that Number, who having been cast away . . . . liv'd there [among the savages]."

Defoe and others of his time used the demonstrative pronoun where we use the article. But usage was variable: Note in the first edition "that Wave" (50.37); "that Day" (81.12); "that same Day" (157.24)—in all of which phrases "that" is changed to "the" in one or more of the later editions; "the Creature" (61.20); "the Part" (255.17); "the Time" (334.17)—changed in the errata or later to "that," etc. See also "that Day after" (111.7), changed to

"the," etc., in the sixth edition (1722).[1] The article occurs where we might expect the demonstrative, in 292.26, "it is six Months in the Ground in the [that] Country"; in 357.4, "never was a more furious Charge than the Creatures made upon us in the Place" (changed to "this Place" in the fourth [,] and fifth).

If the wording of the text at 288.31, above quoted, is a copy of the manuscript, there is no reason apparent to assume that it was not thus intended. The editor or corrector who ordered the deletion missed the significance of the phrase, which is equivalent to "which I *understood* to be the number"; that is, as nearly as Robinson could understand it from a Spaniard through an Indian, with neither of whose languages he was familiar. Indeed, referring to a previous talk on the subject with Friday he had already told us pointedly of his reaction "founded on the Supposition gather'd from the Discourse, [viz.] that there were seventeen bearded Men there" (269.10). This phraseology and the words marked for deletion are in perfect accord. Moreover, the uncertainty implied in the statement might be justified in view of two later references to these castaways, as fourteen (291.30) *without* the leader, and sixteen (293.33) *with* him!

I can see no reason to attribute either of the foregoing changes to Defoe.

ERRATA RELATING TO THE MUTINY

320.27 .29 } for "five of them" read "those five."

[1] Also in the Taylor 12mo ed. of 1722 (p. 90, l. 6).

321.11 for "Apartment" read "Bower."
.12 *dele* "the single Man taken in the Boat."
.14 for "thirteen" read "twelve."
[.15] for "and the two" read "for."
322.7 for "six" read "five."

It is possible to reconcile most of Defoe's figures in his account of the capture and distribution of the mutineers, and to bring greater coherency out of confusion by a few simple substitutions. It seems to me that the corrector's or editor's work in these errata is misdirected because he fails utterly to do away with the numerical inconsistencies, and in his attempt to introduce clarity he does not recognize and really disfigures what I believe to be a feature of Defoe's method. If Defoe himself had seen fit to alter his text through the media of errata, we should be justified in expecting at least an improvement in it, even if we could not expect complete consistency. The corrector or editor, whoever he be, fails to see that by shifting two prisoners from the "Apartment" to the "Bower" in Robinson's recapitulation (321) he does not rectify the original error of including them twice in the total, and that by deleting the "Single Man taken in the Boat," he simply wipes him out of existence, without reducing the total to the required minimum.

The first passage above cited for correction in two places refers to prisoners at the "Bower" (320.27). A tabulation compiled from previous statements in the text may assist us to visualize the situation as it was when the English captain was sent to interview these men. The facts are as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

List of Mutineers

A. Men from ship; 11 in first boat (297): 10 in second (310) . .		21
Killed 2 from first boat (305): 2 from second (316) . .	4	
The man knocked down at the 2nd boat (314) (assumed to have been killed)*	1	
Balance to be accounted for	16	
	21	21

[A classification of the survivors, deduced from the narrative independently of Robinson's recapitulation (321), results as follows:]

B		First Gang	Second Gang	Total
Robinson's party . . .	Captain's group (1st gang) (298) (recapit., item 1)	3	. .	3
	Ass'ts from 1st gang (310) (recapit., item 2)	2	. .	2
	Single man "taken" in the boat, second gang (314) (recapit., item 4)	. .	1	1
Prisoners in cave .	From 1st gang (309) (recapit., last line but one)	2	. .	2
	From 2nd gang (319)	. .	3	3
		7	4	11
C. Five men remain to be accounted for:				
The "other"† [three] from the 2nd gang—to Bower (319). These also were pinioned (319)		3	. .	3
Two of the 1st gang "kept pinioned" (310) at a place not indicated until in the recapitulation (321), to-wit: in Robinson's "Apartment" (recapit., item 3)		. .	2	2
		10	6	16

* One more survivor accounted for, and one fewer killed, would make no change in the total as tabulated.

† Professor Trent construes "other" as an uninflected plural for "others" (see his *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 358.7). An examination of the first edition (319.30) shows that a deletion was probably made in the first setting, and the other words in the line spread farther apart. In the second and later editions "call'd it" has been put into the space thus left unoccupied. There were six prisoners to be disposed of. Three were sent to the cave. The text probably read "other three," but was changed when the editor located five at the Bower, because "three" in this passage would to him make a too evident contradiction. See Appendix for further examples of deletion.

One more survivor would have to be accounted for if the man at the second boat (A) was not killed. Note also that the prisoners from the first gang were not distributed until after Robinson with his party had left his apartment, and that Robinson is silent as to where he spent what remained of the night, after capture of the other gang. The two prisoners from the first gang might well have been kept at the apartment. Robinson speaks of them as "pinion'd" (310) and "in our keeping" (311). Any implied inconsistency here is eminently Robinsonian.

The tabulation shows that down to the time when all the prisoners had been distributed, the statements of the narrative, even if inadequate to cover the situation circumstantially, are at least consistent. Three of the six prisoners from the second gang were sent to the Bower pinioned (Table I; also p. 319), and no other prisoners are recorded as having been taken there up to the time when the captain was ordered, first to parley with them (319) and then to return and "choose out five of them, and tell them . . . . that he would take out five of them to be his Assistants" (320.27).

Without violation of the usage of Defoe's time and in accord with Robinsonian parlance as elsewhere exemplified, the pronoun "them" as used three times in the original version of this passage may well refer to the prisoners collectively rather than to any one group of them, else why say "five of them" where only five at most could be present? This difficulty it probably was, in part at least—for he had other reasons—which moved the editor to substitute

"those five." But we have seen that according to the context there were only three at the Bower. Indeed, by holding to this fact we can most easily reconcile most of the conflicting statements that come later, and avoid a wholesale mutilation of the text as directed by the errata.

In the recapitulation of strength, on page 321, if the first four items be allowed to stand, and if in item 5 "These five releas'd at last" be changed to "These three," etc.—two less—we need only reduce the total (thirteen) by an equal number to eleven, and do the same in the summary of the boat crews on page 322, allowing the original text to stand in all other respects. This eliminates the duplication in items 3 and 5, whether the former item concerns the Bower or the Apartment, by removing from item 5 the two prisoners retained in item 3. Eleven and the five in the cave in both cases make up the required 16 survivors. Twelve is wrong under either hypothesis. Furthermore, the first two changes of the errata, to "those five," then become unnecessary in either case, because Robinson's message, if general, applies and is intended to apply equally to all the prisoners, no matter to how many it was in this case actually delivered. Some means of intercommunication among all the prisoners is indicated in the statement: "It was now the Business of the Prisoners . . . . to perswade the other five to do their Duty" (321.1).

That Defoe can have made a slip in "five" for "three" is not more improbable than that he wrote "Two" for "Three" at 85.1, or used contradictory figures in connection with the pistols (two, 58, 274; three, 197; all, 215),

muskets (seven, 62, 190; eight, 212); said three, and four, barrels of powder were recovered from the wreck (58, 64, 70, 97, 212); made incorrect designations in points of the compass (Trindad [?] from Robinson's island, "W.S.W.," 127; "W. and N.W.," 255), and in the period of Robinson's presence on the island (twenty-eight years, 330; twenty-seven, 1659–86, 74, 330); all of which but the first remain throughout the different Taylor editions without editorial rectification.

I proffer the foregoing substitutions, not with the idea that they will be approved and adopted, but rather to show how easy it would have been for the editor to add clarity to the text while he was busy in altering it; and therefrom to draw the inference that the editor in this case was not Defoe. I do not think it made any difference to Defoe whether his original statements were consistent or not. Nay, I am rather inclined to believe that he was intentionally inconsistent, as might appear from the use he makes of seeming paradox, under which may be included what I have in another place referred to as modification or contradiction.[1] Indeed, in this very episode of the mutiny we still have to consider a complication in the text which will support my assertion. It is the dragging of the two hostages into the recapitulation, who increase the number of these to seven, and that of the total survivors to nineteen. The editor responsible for the list of errata seeks to cure this anomaly, by a simple substitution, by which the phrase "besides five we kept as Prisoners in the Cave

[1] *Sjouke Gabbes*, p. xlviii.

and the two Hostages" becomes "besides five we kept as Prisoners in the Cave, *for* Hostages" (the italics are mine), thus momentarily doing away with the superfluity of hostages. But the cure is only temporary, for the text goes on to recognize these two men, as well as the five in the cave, as hostages; there still remains a surplusage in the total number, although it is smaller.

This case of contradiction is more conspicuous than that involved in the treatment by Robinson of his grove, which is "perfectly impassable" and without an "Avenue" or opening (p. 191), but a hundred and fifteen pages later in the narrative (p. 306) it is "unpassable . . . . but at that one Side, where I had reserv'd my little passage into it," for in the latter case Robinson might have made the passage in the interval between the times indicated in the two statements. The two supernumerary "hostages" were needed for a purpose, and Robinson calmly adds and proceeds to utilize them, with the same degree of plausibility with which he lost more than one day "by crossing and recrossing the Line" (111.11), whether by this he means the Equator or a meridian.

Returning now to the first two changes listed above, "five of them" (general) to "those five" (specific), we see that the editor in order to account for five at the Bower and justify these changes had to alter the assignment of two prisoners, from the Apartment to the Bower, and probably to suppress "three" on page 319, with the result set forth above. Even with the omission of the "single Man taken in the Boat," who is thus left unaccounted

for, the total is seventeen, instead of sixteen—always excepting the two extra hostages.

These editorial changes, disregarding the two hostages whom Defoe, under my assumption of method on his part, would in no event disturb, indicate to me an unsuccessful attempt to improve a text by an editor who misunderstood the author, rather than an effort by the author himself, who could have no motive to alter one inconsistency without mending it, or to mutilate another which formed a recognizable part of his craftsmanship.

The foregoing comment on numerical complications in the mutiny, and on some questionable text changes directed at the end of the first edition, may seem to have overlooked expressions in the text—not included in the errata—the alteration of which in the Phoenix edition indicates a more than superficial acquaintance with the narrative, not theretofore apparent; and with these expressions a case of interpolation, a liberty that is not commonly associated with anyone but the author himself. This interpolation is the phrase "according to my Reckoning," which follows Robinson's mention of Sunday (Ph. ed., 84.14). But now that we have witnessed the liberties taken with the text by Taylor in the passages affected by the errata, this loses its significance and need not constitute a weighty objection to the conclusion reached above.

I have reserved comment until now on the other changes alluded to in the preceding paragraph, in order

to call attention to an additional topic, the Cox abridgment of *Robinson Crusoe*, which may or may not have been the source of the text changes of the Phoenix edition. Dr. Hutchins[1] gives a short description of this "piracy," of which he intimates that Charles Gildon may have been the real author, and the date of which he places about August 1, 1719. I mention Gildon's pamphlet (*The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Daniel Defoe*, etc.), in passing, for its date and provenance may be important in the query raised by Hutchins. It appears to be based on either the Phoenix or the fourth edition, for Gildon's quotation, "I have no Cloaths to cover me" (16), occurs in that form in those two editions only (Taylor, 77.1). This should exclude the Lion edition.

The changes just mentioned are the substitution of "recollected" for "learn'd" (172.13), and the correction of the parrot anomaly (330.5), the latter of which still remains in the fourth, but both of which are corrected in the Phoenix. If Gildon used the fourth edition he would hardly have failed to make a point of Defoe's blunder in the double location of his parrot. He therefore probably used the Phoenix. The date of issue of the Phoenix edition probably lay somewhere midway between the recorded issues of the third (presumably the Lion),[2] June 6, and the fourth, August 8, or let us say about July 7.

The Phoenix and the Cox editions show such a divergence from the Lion, and such a marked resemblance in

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

[2] A copy of this edition is in the University of Michigan collection, with a dedication on the flyleaf dated June 20, 1719.

phraseology to each other in certain passages throughout the volume, in spite of the fact that the Cox edition is much abridged (it has about 64,000 words to about 125,000 for the Taylor editions), that one of them must have profited by the other. Table IV (in the Appendix) will help the reader to draw his own conclusions. I may call attention to the fact that Taylor at the time he was denouncing Cox, unless he were shedding crocodile tears, would not allow himself to admit in fact the superiority of his rival's edition by copying from it. This constitutes with me the strongest argument for the priority of the Phoenix edition over the Cox.

On the other hand, if the Cox edition antedated the Phoenix we have in Taylor's denunciation of Cox a parallel with Hawkesworth's arraignment of the Faulkner edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, and his appropriation of improvements made in that text.

The relative merits of the two editors, of the Cox edition and of the Phoenix innovations, may be estimated from several improvements or clarifications in the Cox version over the other (see Appendix, Cox ed.). Attention must also be called to three passages which indicate that Cox may also have consulted the Lion or a still earlier edition. In Sig. I, 114.33 (1st ed.), occurs the following sentence: "I had been now in this unhappy Island about 10 months;" This statement was made by Robinson on July 14. He had arrived on the thirtieth of the previous September. The time elapsed was actually nine and one-half months. The different editions after the second read

as will be seen in Table III. The Cox editor or compositor does not adopt the new but correct reading of the Phoenix edition, but repeats the numerical error of the Lion edition, and in so doing fails to show the perspicacity evident in some of his other transcriptions. These two words, "above" and "about," with an equal number of letters and the first three of them alike in both words, have been variously used, the one for the other, for no assignable cause that I can discern, in three cases in Part I, in at least one of them wrongly; here at 114.33 (Table III); at 190.21 and 293.15, where editions from the first to the fourth read "above," and from the fourth (,) to the sixth, "about" (see also Part II, 104.37, where the third edition has "above" [two years], and the fourth [12 mo.][1] "about" [89.29]).[2] Have we not here to do with compositors' errors?[3]

Further, in "if the worst came to the worst" (Taylor, 234.18), the Cox editor, or his compositor, again, perhaps unconsciously, repeats the Lion text. This illogical error, however, can hardly form the basis for a convincing argument on sequence. Defoe makes it frequently, one might almost say habitually. Three cases occur in the first edition; in Part I, the biggest End (68.21); again where Robinson contrasts his side of the island with the north side, as the worst (129.14); and in Part II (22.25) where, speaking of two men, he says "the oldest was the worst." What could one expect of the compositors?

[1] See *infra*, pp. 53 *et. seq.*

[2] See also the last-named text (237.25).

[3] See Isaac James, *Providence Displayed, etc.*, 181.30, "above thrice or thereabouts," and see Robinson's similar phraseology (129.3).

The third and last passage under discussion is the reversion to the phraseology of the Lion edition in "found" for "thought" (Taylor, 255.6). Without further comment on these three examples, I believe we are justified in the conclusion that their effect, in face of the a priori argument against the Lion edition, first above adduced will hardly outweigh that of the other 90 per cent of my quotations.[1]

Among the changes shown in Table III (p. 66) we may note that the missing date of Robinson's departure from Brazil (46.14) is printed in the Phoenix text for the first time in any Taylor edition. The misprint 1661 (for 1651) on page 7, in the first edition, whether then recognized as such or not, already in type and probably printed, was of course irreconcilable with Robinson's subsequent departure from Brazil in 1659 (!), and so the latter date may have been omitted for a possible reconciliation in a future edition.

That this lacuna and several evident inaccuracies of the original text had been allowed to go through three editions without correction indicates, besides the absence of Defoe's oversight, a neglect of editorial supervision in Taylor's establishment, caused possibly by a lack of men fitted for that duty. We may infer, perhaps, that some public criticisms suddenly waked Taylor from his lethargy.

[1] In the Stone abridgment (piracy?) of *Gulliver's Travels* (London, 1727), which is apparently derived from the *editio princeps*, the word "represent" (Motte ed., IV, 52.12) is replaced by "express," which was used by Swift himself in the Faulkner edition (Dublin) eight years later: Was this a coincidence, or did Swift copy from Stone?

Perhaps an infusion of new blood was temporarily injected into his staff, but if so it seems to have proved efficacious for only a brief period, for in the fourth edition, owing to the "copy" used for the last half, we find relapses to errors that had already been once corrected. Possibly some literary expert was specially hired for the job of a thorough revision of the existing text, after the accomplishment of which (in the Phoenix) the regular force might be expected to turn out a product that would be free from criticism.

The questions of Gildon's authorship of the Cox edition and his possible editorship of the Phoenix edition are foreign to my theme, and I shall leave them for others to solve, and content myself with a suggestion that Gildon could not have edited the Phoenix without a knowledge of some previous edition, nor the Cox text for the same reason. Moreover, in an edition prepared in July presumably for his own profit or credit, he would hardly retain in their original form and effect the several passages that he so acridly held up to ridicule soon after August 20, the date of the publication of "*The Further Adventures*," etc.

In the Appendix, I add some excerpts to illustrate the Cox composition. While the latter shows evidence of haste and some incoherence where condensation of the original is most marked, it betrays in places the hand of an able writer, a man of some culture and intelligence, who however was prone at times to ill-considered rhetoric. Indeed, one might easily believe that more than one per-

son had a hand in the makeup of that edition—so careless and again so clear. Several passages of the original are illumined that in Defoe's mouth appear obscure to present-day readers. These excerpts may in fact serve to show the exaggeration of Taylor's charges, that the author's sense throughout is wholly mistaken by Cox, and the matters of fact misrepresented. In many respects rather the reverse is true.

I may further add quite briefly that Hutchins is mistaken in his adoption of a statement he imputes to Lee[1] that Cox left out all the moral reflections. It is not clear that Lee had this topic particularly in mind when he quoted at large the Preface in Part II of Taylor's *Robinson Crusoe*. He quoted it really on another point.

A careful examination of the two texts shows that the average abridgment for the volume is to about 51 per cent of the original; that some total omissions are made of passages of "matters of fact" as well as of "reflections," in the latter case of 8 out of 48 noted, but that in these less than 5 per cent of the total reflections—by words—are involved; and that, too, without the reduction of 51 per cent applicable as an abridgment. On the other hand, in the description of Robinson's sickness and the dream that preceded it—between pages 101 and 113—which consist largely of "reflections," Cox has condensed to only about two-thirds! Here at least he appears to have used discrimination in the increased amount of matter retained because of its effectiveness. The real relationship of the Taylor to the Cox text may be stated in the ratios of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

"narration" or matter of fact to "reflections," respectively, as Taylor, 100 to about 17; Cox 100 to about 16.

As evidence that Cox's text was not unworthy of being consulted by publishers of repute, I may say, without fear of refutation, that it was used quite freely by Gent in his compilation of the Midwinter edition of 1722.[1]

NOTES ON THE TAYLOR 12MO EDITION OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

The foregoing pages were ready for the press when two copies of the scarce duodecimo Taylor edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, Part I, which is mentioned by Hutchins,[2] came to this country. One of these (with its mate, Part II, 4th ed.) fell into my hands and in it I have found some new corrections and interpretations of the original text, which seem to furnish further negative evidence on the question of Defoe's authorship of text changes in any of the Taylor editions.

The publication of this sixth duodecimo edition, Dr. Hutchins tells us, was announced as of June 5–7, 1722, and that it was printed after the sixth octavo follows from the fact that the latter is merely a reissue of left-over sheets of the fifth edition (1720) with a new title-page, and illustrations. In the preparation of the smaller volume the text of the sixth octavo (i.e., the fifth) should seem to have been the logical one to use as copy, and this assumption is made probable by many examples, of which a few are given below.

For convenience, I designate the octavo edition of 1722 "VI(8)," and the duodecimo, "VI(12)." Quotations

[1] Cf. Hutchins, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

from VI(12) as well as page references thereto are inclosed in brackets, and if original to that edition are printed in boldface type. Where not in boldface they are to be understood to agree with the first edition, which of course does not exclude them from agreement with one or more of the others. This comparison with the edition nearest the author may the better enable the reader to judge whether the innovations of the latest Taylor text point, by analogy or otherwise, to Defoe as their source. The quotations listed are not exhaustive, but rather are characteristic and illustrative, and my deductions in this case, as in the former portion of this work, are based on Part I, even if collaterally Part II is occasionally cited for a parallel case. I may remark, too, in passing, that I have possibly omitted to insert in the comparisons some slight typographic differences, of spelling or capitalization, for example, when they are not material to the point under consideration. A complete study of the duodecimo edition of Part I may well be left to other hands, in connection with that of its Part II, with which as well as with earlier editions of the same I have been only incidentally concerned.

That the texts of VI(12) and VI(8) agree in some passages where they together disagree from all others previously described marks the earlier of these two as the source of the later. That VI(12) also differs materially from all other editions, VI(8) included, would alone mark it, with its date of issue, as the final effort on Taylor's part to improve the text, but like earlier editions after the third (Lion) it fails to embody all of the changes previously in-

PLATE V

THE

LIFE,

And Strange Surprizing

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Of *YORK*, MARINER:

Who lived eight and twenty Years all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of *America*, near the Mouth of the Great River *Oroonoque*; having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself.

With an ACCOUNT how he was at last as strangly deliver'd by PYRATES.

Written by Himself.

The SIXTH EDITION Adorned with Cuts.

In Two VOL.

LONDON: Printed for *W. Taylor*, at the *Ship* and *Black-Swan*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXXII.

TITLE-PAGE OF PART I, 6TH (12MO) EDITION OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

troduced by the publisher, as is inferable from the diagram (Plate IV).

The Taylor duodecimo edition, VI(12), has pp. iv (T. p.-verso blank; Preface, 2 pp.), preceded by two blank leaves; 294 (plus 2 pp. of book ads. and 4 pp. blank): Sigs. B–M, and $O_{3.2}$ (leaf 3 lacking Sig. number). Cm.16; Ftspc. and 6 ills. (those of the 8vo edition with smaller margins). For facsimile of title-page see Plate V.

Pages misnumbered: 145 (106), 160 (168), 161 (169), 164 (172), 165 (173), 195 (147); pages 259–56 inclusive are missing from the copy examined. Dr. Hutchins, who owns the other copy mentioned above, has kindly furnished me with photographic copies of those pages, which I have not however included in my present study.

The lower half of the final page (294) has an advertisement of the octavo edition of the same year, in three volumes.

PROVENANCE

The following excerpts show agreement between VI(12) and VI(8) and disagreement of these with all previous editions. In other words, they show that VI(8) probably served as copy for VI(12). Quotations from these two editions are in brackets.

First Edition		VI(12)
155.20	in the *Brasils* [in *Brasils*]	[125.41]
176.37	Spatter-dashes [Spatterdashers]	[143.17]
293.15	above [about] 20 young kids	[237.25]
332.31	Proviedore [Provedore]	[269.5]
342.17	Aversion to going [go]	[276.34]
351.4	got out to the small End of [small of] a large Limb	[283.27]

Dr. Hutchins[1] cites the omission in VI(8), 121.18, of the line "and open for any Thing to come in upon me." This line is also wanting in VI(12).

Most interesting in the comparison of VI(12) and VI(8) is the treatment by the editor of VI(12) of Defoe's composition—its interpretation and its improvement. At times we are unable to deny that Defoe himself could have been the authority for a change, as, for example, in the elimination of tautology. On the contrary, however, it is more difficult to suppose that Defoe would deliberately alter the sense in some passages that were not open to misconstruction in their original form.

Without further preliminaries I shall now proceed to list the promised text alterations, among which several are of special interest because the original faulty readings have been passed over by students of Defoe without comment—so far as I am aware.

PUNCTUATION

One of Defoe's literary faults was his neglect of punctuation, as illustrated—possibly—in the following examples:

61.7 Beasts, of whom however I saw none, yet [**none yet;**] I saw . . . . Fowls [49.19].

62.27 all these I secur'd together, with [**secured, together with**] several Things [50.31]. Note, however [74.33], "huddel'd together" [60.29].

Other cases, corrected in some previous editions, are listed here for reference:

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 176.

11.6 this would be nothing too [,] like the first [9.15]; VI(8).
327.21 if they desir'd, that [**desired that,**] I did not care [264.39]; VI(8).

DOUBLE NEGATIVES, ETC.

The correction of double negatives, in VI(12) for the first time, at 57.31 [46.32] and 66.35 [54.9], is evidence against Defoe's handiwork, because double negatives are in his manner. But the interpolation of "in short" at 8.13 [7.6], of "I say" at 80.37 [65.25], and the use of "gat" for "got" instead of "run" at 240.10 [194.31] are reminiscent of that author, although not conclusive of his intervention.

TAUTOLOGY

A marked effort is noticeable as early as the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe* to avoid tautology, but the manner of doing it is often crude, and verges on the grotesque where Friday carried the Spaniard "away to the boat and set him down safely upon the Side or Gunnel of the Canoe" (285.3) [230.40]; which sentence remains unchanged in all the Taylor editions.

But this effort is not sustained throughout the volume; the word "Shore" in the much-mooted passage on page 14 occurs seven times in ten lines, except in the Phoenix edition, where an effort was made to lessen the tautology.

Nor is the effort comprehensive. The same pronoun, for example, is used repeatedly in a succession of phrases, and that, too, even when it refers to different objects (cf. 131.28, and Part II, third edition, 108.15). In this usage, however, Defoe was not singular to his time. Like cases

are found in the language of scripture. But the want of consistency in the first particular ("Shore") marks haste in the composition, and neglect of supervision.

The editor of VI(12), however, besides other efforts at betterment, seeks—at times—to do away with some of the tautology left by Defoe. Two examples may suffice:

63.37 I . . . . slept very quietly all Night, for I [**Night: I**] was very weary and heavy, for the Night before I had slept little, and had labour'd very hard all Day, as well to fetch all those [**fetch those**] things from the Ship [51.33].

139.30 and yet all [**and all**] these things I did without, as shall be observ'd; and yet [113.12].

But the editor himself occasionally falls into tautology:

81.3 as long as it lasted, for [**at last**] having no more Ink [65.28].

Regardless of tautology, the interpolation here is intended to make Robinson's statement more precise. Cf. also 147.26, "easily" (119.29).

139.33 All [**But all**] this, as I said, made every thing laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for [113.15].

OMISSIONS—BY EDITOR (?)

45.9 for me that was thus entered and established [**thus establish'd**] [36.26].

89.8 if any People were to come [**were come**] on Shore [72.13].

94.23 I found the Air over-cast, and grow [**and it grew**] cloudy, as if it would Rain; [line beginning "soon after" omitted in all previous editions after the Phoenix ed.] so that [**rain; and**] in less than half an Hour, it blew a most dreadful Hurricane [**of Wind**]; The Sea was all [**Sea all**] on a Sudden cover'd over with Foam and Froth, the Shore was cover'd [76.29].

116.25 might be to be had [**might be had**] [94.32].

129.19 some which I had seen, and some which I had not seen of before. VI(8)—some of which I had seen and some of which I had not seen before. VI(12)—some of which I had not seen before [105.1] [Compositor's omission, (?)]

197.11 cautious of firing my Gun, least [lest] any of them being on [**them on**] the Island, should happen to hear of it [**hear it**] [159.38].

215.13 I went back . . . pull'd up the ladder after me, and made (**me, having made**) all Things without look [**Things look**] as wild and natural as I could [174.23] [cf. Cox, 159.27; *infra*, Appendix, p. 76].

The changes made here cure the inversion of ideas. The original text represents Robinson within his castle making things look natural outside!

351.4 got out to the small End of [**small of**] a large Limb [283.27].

In VI(8) the words in this line are extended; there is enough space for "End," which may have been taken out after setting; "Small" is also left uncapitalized (see Appendix; deletions in 1st ed.).

OMISSIONS—BY COMPOSITOR

The following three examples are compositor's errors, caused by the repetition of identical words in the original text.

44.30 was a Trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publickly sell. VI(12)—was a Trade that could **not publickly sell** [36.12]. [N.B.: could not—could not.]

198.29 boil; and yet all these Things, notwithstanding, I verily believe, had not these Things interven'd. VI(12)—**boil; and yet all these Things interven'd** [161.5]. [N.B.: these Things—these Things.]

204.26 they were National, and I ought to leave them to the Justice of God . . . . who . . . . knows how by National Punishments. VI(12)—they were **National Punishments** [165.37]. [N.B.: National—National.]*

* See also 129.19, *supra*.

ADDITIONS

7.37 as I thought [it did] [6.36].

37.20 *what* [***little***] *you have* [30.23].

.31 might have them [**again**] [30.32].

44.16 engross'd in the Publick [**Stock**] [35.42].

46.30 Coast, when [**When**] they came [**into**] about 10 or 12 degrees [37.36].

47.27 and [**now he**] began to consult . . . . and he was [**for**] going [38.25].

64.34 get all this safe on Shore also [**, tho' at several times**] [52.23].

171.2 Baskets [**instead of a Granary**] [138.23].

338.11 in the River [**the *Tagus***] [273.18].

II, 164.20 I was most agreeably surprized . . . . for indeed I [**had**] thought it very suitable [**sutable**] [138.15]. [The change in the tense contradicts the antecedent statement: Cf. VI(8), I, 172.13.]

SUBSTITUTIONS

17.35 Master of a Ship . . . . *Guinea* [***Guiney***]; and who . . . . was resolved to go again; and who [**again; this Capt.**] taking a fancy to my Conversation, which was not at all disagreeable [**not disagreeable**] [14.35].

38.34 and 43.32 *Brasilo* [***Brasils***] [31.26; 35.23]. ["*Brasilo*" is probably a typographic error. VI(8) has *Brasilio*. Cf. Appendix, p. 73.]

67.34 a rising Hill, whose Front [**Form**] towards this little Plain was [**as**] steep [54.41].

76.16 I began to comfort myself . . . . and to [**so**] set the good [**Good**] against the Evil [61.40]. [Robinson not only began to make the comparison, but "stated it very impartially:"—76.19.]

93.15 I found the Earth come [**came**] crumbling [**tumbling**] down [75.28].

The second change is not necessarily apposite, for a crumbling of the rock in excavated "ground" is often preliminary to a more serious cave-in (cf. 78.19, "a loose sandy Rock"; and 143.37, "crumbling stone").

158.16 The [**One**] Reason [128.12].

The change is well made. R. gives two reasons, heat and rain (cf. 159).

186.19 me. In answer [**me. and in return**] [151.6].

220.36 firing of [**off**] Guns [179.9].

224.3 some invisible [**visible**] Direction [181.31].

Is this a compositor's error, or does the later editor seek to cure a possible ambiguity in the construction of "Direction"—some apparent guiding force (cf. II, 64.25, "Direction of Providence"; II, 111.25, "the governing Providence of God directs"—both in third edition)?

237.21 I was not at first so [**more**] careful to shun . . . . as [**than**] I was now eager to be upon them [192.25].

261.1 I always apply'd my [**me**] self in [**to**] reading the scripture, [**and**] to let him know [212.13].

The VI(8) text is "to Reading"—which is erroneous—and omits "and." The VI(12) text interpolates "and," thus modifying the original.

341.25 indispos'd of [**undisposed off** (typ.)] [276.7].

345.7 in the Memory of Man [**in many Years**] [278.39].

348.34 look steadily [**stedfastly**] [281.37] [cf. II, 13.37 [12.27]; 51.24 [44.21]; 138.1 [116.42], "steadily," in both eds.].

360.35 unless [**except**] [291.19]

363.34 which I afterwards perform'd [**could not perform**] [293.37].

COMPOSITOR'S ERRORS

In the following passages the compositor of the first edition may have (?) misread the manuscript.

62.3 I might yet get . . . . out of the Ship . . . . some of the Rigging, and Sails, and such other Things as might come to Land [**hand**] [50.8].

64.20 for they were no more useful to be [**to me for**] Sails [52.10].

78.18 I set myself to enlarge my Cave and Works [**Cave, and work'd**] further into the Earth [63.26].

[Robinson goes on to particularize (or repeat): "I work'd sideways"— . . . . "work'd quite out"— l. 22. Cf. 70.18 where "Works" signifies building and fortifying (?); II, 119.12, enlarged and extended their Works, as well under as on the outside of the Hill.]

87.10 the Posts standing in Rows, serv'd me for Partitions to part of [**off**] my House [70.32]. [Note that "part" is not capitalized. Cf. 154.15, "to part the Flesh from the Skin.]

Space left before "of" in the first edition justifies the inference that "off" was first set, and was changed (by the compositor?) after completion of the page (cf. 127.25; also 197.19—"of" for "off").

182.13 nor is it possible to describe how many various Shapes affrighted Imagination represented Things to me in, how many wild Ideas were found [**form'd**] . . . . in my Fancy [147.32].

In line 33, Robinson again repeats (?) himself: "I form'd nothing but dismal Imaginations to my self" (cf. 259.33–37 for a similar repetition).

206.17 peeping, and peeping [**peiring**] [167.13]. [Cf. 91.30, "peering in every Corner."]

215.5 stepp'd [**stopt**] short within my Grove, not daring to go out [174.15].

"Stopt short" or "stop'd short" occurs at 173.31; II, 272.38; and II, 143.34. Note also the spelling in "stopp'd" (314.7).

MODIFICATIONS

The following text alterations materially modify the sense of the original:

69.11 I made me a large Tent which [**Tent also**], to preserve me from the Rains . . . . I made double, *viz.* one smaller Tent within, and one larger Tent above it, and cover'd the uppermost [**part of it**] with a large Tarpaulin [56.6]. [Wrong!]

110.2 held my Nose close over the Smoke of it as long as I could bear it, as well for the Heat as almost for Suffocation. VI (12) . . . . **as well For the Heat as the Virtue of it, and I held it almost to Suffocation** [89.8].

344.19 nor indeed [, **indeed,**] was it more painful than it was surprising, [**surprizing**] to come . . . . out of . . . . *Castile* where the Weather was . . . . very hot, [;] and . . . . to feel a Wind . . . . so very keen, so severely cold, as to . . . . endanger benumbing [**benumming**] and perishing of our Fingers and Toes [**was very strange**] [278.17].

The later editor divides one statement into two by the substitution of a semicolon for a comma; which requires an additional predicate.

APPENDIX

Table II shows the derivation of the two third editions from the second. In the second and third (Lion) editions sheets C, D, E, R, and S, in part at least, are from the same settings (some with changes), respectively, in both editions (cf. pp. 27, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41–52, 54–56, 60–63, 243, 246, 250, 257–67, 269–72). Identity of settings for two or more consecutive editions is indicated by brackets. The first occurrence of a change in the text is shown by boldface type. For the signification of "typ." see *supra* (p. 17).

DELETIONS IN FIRST EDITION

Besides the supposed deletion at page 319 (*supra*, p. 41) I may, without going exhaustively into the subject, simply call attention to a few other cases of possible tampering with the text by Taylor in the first edition where a part of the matter first set seems to have been reset before printing. We have seen that changes were introduced in certain settings that had already been used for one edition, in revising and preparing them or parts thereof for use in another, but in those cases the changes are mostly typographic, and we may require both editions to detect them. Witness "apyly" to "apply" (iii.16) and "Pilate" to "Pilot" (343.2), which have already been noted by critics. In these others, on the contrary, a change is apparent without a comparison.

The cases to which I refer are conspicuous because the line or group of lines affected shows the words more widely apart than in the other lines on the same page—extended, if I may apply this printers' term rather to the spacing between words than to the words or to the letters themselves. I am not aware that in Defoe's day this extension was made for emphasis. It suggests rather a late deletion of part of the original setting. At times the context enables us to determine, at others only to surmise, what, if anything was eliminated or deleted, and again we are left quite in ignorance on the subject. In some instances, indeed, the unusual spaces between

TABLE II

Sig. Page	1	2	3 (Lion)	3 (Phoenix)
B, 15.5...	rush	**push** [typ.]	push	push
C, 17.16..	*Guinea*	***Guiney***	*Guiney*	*Guiney*
D, 43.6...	full of	**full off**[typ.]	full of [corr'd in the form]	full off
.28..	State Health of	State Health of	**State of Health** [corr'd in the form]	State of Health [typ.]
E, 56.17..	lose;	lose?	lose?	lose?
F, 65.10..	Cove	**Cave** [incor.]	Cave	Cove [typ.]
G, 94.32..	stark calm	**calm** [typ.]	Stark calm	calm
I, 114.33..	about	**above** [incor.]	above	**almost**
K, 138.26..	for Store	**of** Store [incor.]	for Store [typ.]	of Store
L, 145.30..	either of	**either Fowls** [incor.]	either of [typ.]	either Fowls
M, 170.3...	could .... make	**could .... made**	could .... **have** made [correc. of 2d ed.]	could .... made
N, 178.20..	nearer	**near**	near	near
N, 181.18..	where	**were** [incor.]	where [typ.]	were
N, 185.12..	in the Island	in the Island	**on** the Island	in the Island
O, 194.6...	Ship	**Ships** [incor.]	ships	Ships
O, 203.5...	me; and	me; and	me; **therefore**	me; and
P, 213.37..	who	**which**	which	which
R, 241.25..	who	**whom**	whom	whom
R, 255.17..	the Part	the Part	**that** Part	the Part
R, 256.24..	*do say*	***said***	*said*	*said*
S, 261.8...	set	set	**sate** [changed in the form]	set
S, 270.10..	*venture*	*venter*	*venter*	*venter*
S, 272.18..	said, in	said, in	**said in** [changed in the form]	said, in
T, 281.33..	it seems	it seems	(it seems)	, it seems,
T, 284.18..	stand up upon	stand up upon	**stand upon**	stand up upon
T, 286.11..	[ital.]	[ital.]	**[parenth.]**	[ital.]
X, 314.6...	where	**when** [better]	when	when
Z, 345.23..	ourselves	**us**	us	us
Z, 346.13..	his	**the**	the	the
Aa, 360.11..	severely	**severe** [changed in the form]	severe	severe

TABLE III

To Show Text Variations from the First to the Fourth (Comma) Edition

Sig.	Page	1	2	3 (L.)	3 (Ph.)	4	4 (,)
A, i			[	]	[		]
iii							
A, iv	.9.....	there	there	**their**	their	their	their
	.12.....	dispatch'd	dispatch'd	**disputed**	disputed	disputed	disputed
B,*	7.15.....	Winds [Sea]	Winds	Winds	**Sea**	Sea	Winds
	12.6.....	me into	me into	me **in**	me into	me in [typ.?]	me in
	14.11.....	the Shore	the Shore	the Shore	**anything**	the Shore	the Shore
	.12.....	Shore	Shore	Shore	**Strand**	St[r]and [supplied from Ph.]	Strand
C,	20.27.....	alas!	**alass!**	alas?	alass!	alas! [typ.]	alas?
	27.26.....	to weigh	[to weigh	to weigh]	**to weight**	to weight	to weigh
	29.12.....	were [cor.]	were	were	**where**	where	were
	.13.....	flowed [cor.]	flowed	**flows**	flowed	flowed	flows
	.27.....	hope was	hope was	**H**ope was	**hopes** was [typ.]	Hopes **were**	Hope was
D,†	37.26.....	his	[his	his]	his	**this** [typ.]	this
	39.8.....	I had left	I had left	I had left	**I left**	I had left	I had left
	46.14.....	[no date]	[[no date]	[no date]]	**[date]**	[supplied from Ph.]‡	[date]
	.20.....	besides	besides	besides	**including**	besides	besides
E,	50.32.....	were	[were	were]	**are**	are	were
	59.7.....	Tide set	Tide set	Tide set	Tide **to** set	Tide to set	Tide to set

* See also 7.17; 8.35; 10.23 and 11.28, in all of which the fourth (,) agrees with the Lion.

† See also 47.17; 48.19; 48.28, in all of which the fourth is *not* from the Phoenix.

‡ If the fourth (,) came before the fourth, this supposition is unnecessary.

TABLE III—*Continued*

Sig. Page	1	2	3 (L.)	3 (Ph.)	4	4 (,)
E, §62.17	nothing on	[nothing on	nothing on]	nothing **but**	nothing but	nothing on
65.7	it with [cor.]	it with	it with	**with it**	with it	it with
.10	Cove	**Cave** [incor.]	Cave	Cove [typ.]	Cove	Cave
F, 70.10	might	might	might	**my** [typ.]	**may** [cor. of Ph.]	might
71.36	possibly	possibly	possibly	**possible**	possible	possibly
80.9	much Hurry	much Hurry	much **a** Hurry	much Hurry	much Hurry	much a Hurry
G, 84.14	.....	.....	.....	**according to** etc.	according to etc.	according to etc.
.17	in Pieces	in pieces	in Pieces	**to** Pieces	to Pieces	to Pieces
89.17	of wild	of wild	of **a** wild	of wild	of wild	of wild
91.11	know	know	know	know	**knew**	knew
94.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	[line omitted]	[line omitted]
H, 98.13	choack'd	**choak'd**	choak'd	choak'd	choack'd	choak'd [typ.]
105.38	Convi—	**Convic—**	Convic—	**Con—**	Con—	Con—
108.22	had	had	**has**	had	**hath**	hath
112.38	pture	**ture**	ture	ture	pture	pture
I, 114.29	in the dry	in the dry	in **a** dry	in the dry	in the dry	in a dry
.33	about	**above** [incor.]	above	**almost**	above	above
116.34	North [wrong]	North	North	**East**	East	North
120.35	, incessant	, incessant	, incessant	**was** incessant	was incessant	, incessant
128.6	are	are	**were**	are	are	were
K, 138.26	for Store	**of** Store	for Store [typ.]	of Store	of Store	for Store
144.1	neither would	neither would	**would neither**	neither would	neither would	would neither
L, 150.27	grutches	**grudges** [typ.]	grudges	**grudge**	grudge	grudges
150.38	how	how	how	**who** [incor.]	who	how
158.27	or a Hat	**or Hat**	or a Hat [typ.]	or a Hat	or Hat [typ.?]	or a Hat

§ See also 55.26 and 67.28.

TABLE III—*Continued*

Sig. Page	1	2	3 (L.)	3 (Ph.)	4	4 (,)
M, 164.6	Paddlers	Paddlers	Paddlers	Paddlers	**Paddles**	Paddles [typ.]
166.26	having still	having still	having still	having **yet**	having still	having still
170.3	cou'd . . . . make	**could** . . . . **made**	could . . . . **have made** [correction of 2]	could . . . . made	could . . . . made	could . . . . have made
172.13	learn'd	learn'd	learn'd	**recollected**	recollected	**had** learned
174.31	or seen	or seen	or seen	or **had** seen	or seen	or seen
N,‖181.17	where	**were** [incor.]	where [typ.]	were	were	where
185.12	in the Island	in the Island	**on** the Island	in the Island	in the Island	on the Island
188.3	on Shore there	on Shore there	on Shore there	**on the shore**	on the Shore	on Shore there
190.21	above	above	above	above	above	**about**
.27	like my Cannon	like my Cannon	like my Cannon	**as Cannon**	as Cannon	like my Cannon
O, 193.24	more the	more the	more the	**the more**	more the	the more
202.15	People either	People either	People either	**People do**	People either	People do
203.5	me; and	me; and	me; **therefore**	me; and	me; therefore	me; and
P, 214.27	last Years of	last Years of	last Years of	last **Year's solitary**	last Years of	last Year's solitary
220.16	*South*	*South*	*South*	*South-East*	*South*	*South-East*
Q, 226.34	were	were	**was**	were	was	were
234.18	worse [cor.]	worse	**worst**	worse	worst	worse
236.7	who	who	who	**whom**	who	whom
R, 245.16	I takes	I takes	I takes	I **took**	I takes	I took
249.33	him . . . . it	him . . . . it	him . . . . it	**it** . . . . it	him . . . . it	it . . . . it
252.8	People do	People do	People **in** [typ.]	People do	People in	People do
254.27	on a Row	on a Row	on a Row	**in** a Row	on a Row	in a Row

‖ Dr. Hutchins reports a copy of the fourth edition, which has Sig. N from the Phoenix (*op. cit.*, p. 93).

TABLE III—*Continued*

Sig. Page	1	2	3 (L.)	3 (Ph.)	4	4 (,)
S, 270.10.....	*venture*	[***venter***	*venter*	*venter*	*venture* [typ. ?]	*venter*
274.24.....	was	**has**	**had**	had	had	had
T, 279.28.....	Sword	Sword	**Swords** [wrong]	Sword	Swords	Sword
281.29.....	really but	really but	really but	really **little**	really but	really little
.33.....	it seems	it seems	(it seems)	, it seems,	(it seems)	, it seems,
285.27.....	we got	we got	we **had** got	we got	we had got	we got
U, 289.5¶.....	who	who	[**whom**	who]	whom	who
.7.....	the first Ship	the first Ship	the first Ship	**first the Ship**]	the first Ship	first the Ship
X, 317.3.....	we [wrong]	we	we	**they**	we	they
318.31.....	who he	who he	who he	who **was** [wrong]	who he	who was
Y, 330.5.....	my Parrot	my Parrot	my Parrot	**one of my Parrots**	my Parrot	one of my Parrots
Z, 340.38.....	more	more	more	**presently**	more	presently
345.9.....	take [cor.]	take	**taking**	take	taking	take
351.17.....	Trees	Trees	Trees	**Bough**	Bough [typ.]	Bough
Aa, 353.4**.....	[Horrour	Horrour]	Horrour	Horrour	**Horror**	Horror [typ.]
359.17.....	the being	the being	the being	the being	**they** being	they being
.30.....	we	we	we	we	we	they [error] [typ.]
360.1.....	those	those]	those	**the**	those	those

¶ The Lion setting for this page was used for the Phoenix, after a resetting of two lines during which one error was wilfully committed, and another corrected for the first time.

** See also 357.17, behind, pushing.

TABLE IV

To Show the Relationship of the Cox to the Third Taylor Editions

Taylor			Cox	
Page	3 (Lion) June 6	3 (Phoenix) July 7±	Page	[June–July]
46.14..	[date omitted]	[date given]	30.13..	[date given]
.20..	besides [wrong]	including		[total not given]
47.30..	was going	was going	.31..	was for going*
50.37..	that Wave	the Wave	33.20..	the Wave
84.14..	[for the 11th was Sunday]	[for the 11th was *Sunday*, according to my Reckoning]	55.11..	[omitting the Eleventh, which I suppos'd was Sunday according to my Account]
114.33..	above [wrong]	almost [cor.]	79.19..	above
116.24..	might be to be had	could be had	81.14..	could be had
.34..	South and North	South, and East	.23..	South-East
131.28..	but almost	but was	95.3...	but was
.35..	became	was	.10..	was
170.3...	I believe could, ... have made	I believe I could, ... make	126.26..	I fancy'd I could, ... make
.21..	in the Island	in the Island	127.12..	in that Island
172.13..	I had forgot then what I learn'd afterwards, that Hunger	I had forgot then what I recollected afterwards, that Hunger	128.5...	I had forgot then the old Proverb that Hunger
174.37..	seem'd	seem [cor.]	130.13..	seem
177.20..	nineteen [wrong]	nine or ten	132.26..	not above 10
190.27..	I planted like my Cannon	I planted as Cannon	141.4...	which serv'd instead of Cannon
203.8...	*America*, and where	*America*, where	149.6...	*America*, where
220.16..	*South*	*South-East*	164.5...	*South East*
234.18..	if the worst came to the worst	if the worse came to the worst	172.31..	if the worst came to the worst
236.7...	who	whom	174.18..	whom
255.6...	as I found	as I thought	189.8...	which I found†
289.7...	when the first Ship was lost	when first the Ship was lost‡	213.24..	when they lost their ship

* This is also the reading of the Taylor 12mo ed. of 1722.
† Cf. Taylor, Part II, 35.
‡ On the use of "first," cf. 147.17 and II, 19.27.

TABLE IV—*Continued*

Taylor			Cox	
Page	3 (Lion) June 6	3 (Phoenix) July 7 ±	Page	[June-July]
317.3...	we	they [cor.]	232.5...	they
318.31..	who [Atkins] he [the Captain] was commanded .... to advise to prepare for Death	who was commanded .... to advise to prepare for Death	233.26..	who [Atkins] was .... order'd to prepare for Death
330.5...	my Parrot	one of my Parrots	237.30..	a Parrot
351.17..	Trees	Bough	248.16..	Bough
361.23..	328000	3288000	253.11..	3288000

words are due purely to technical reasons. For us the following cases may be important so far as they throw light on their probable author. Was he Defoe, or Taylor?

The most palpable case of deletion occurs at

211.22 what it was in Rock, whether diamonds, or a-
ny other precious Stones,

A deletion in the first line and consequent extension of the words, leaving the division of "any" between two lines, were probably made by the compositor to avoid typographic trouble. I need go no farther into details here, except to say that "the" was added to the text in the second edition, at which time a readjustment began further back in the paragraph.

46.34 on our own Coast, till we came the Height of

Since the other early Taylor editions show no essential deviation from the first in the spacing of this line and none in the reading, we may infer that the expression "came the Height" was current, or in the vernacular of seafolk, and may have seemed more proper to the compositor than the words of the original setting. The sixth editions, however, insert "to" after "came" and find room for it in

the same line, which at least gives ground for the inference that this may also have been the original setting. Under that supposition we might rather expect the extension to appear in the latter part of the line, where the deletion, if any, was made; another reason for doubt will be evident from the following example:

> 315.28 They hallow'd again, and call'd their two Comerades by their Names, a great many times, but
> no Answer. After some time, we could see. . . . .
> them,

In the second and Lion editions the distribution is the same as in the first; in the Phoenix the superfluous blank space in the third line is taken up and "them" is brought up into that line. Either "got" or "came" might therefore have found room in the blank space, but neither was necessary. Let us look farther ahead. The last line of the paragraph, which is also the last line of the page, consists of a single word—"again"—and is the thirty-sixth line, instead of the usual thirty-seventh. A contraction or "condensing" of the text in either the first or the second edition, that would have amounted to five letters, would have reduced the number of lines on the page to thirty-five. This is just what happened in the Phoenix edition, but a thirty-sixth line was secured there by borrowing one from the preceding page, and supplying its loss by resetting (?) and extending the third paragraph on that page to yield an extra line, and thus to bring about a balance between the two pages. The text is probably as Defoe wrote it. Some typographic necessity may therefore explain the mechanical, as well as the possible syntactical, hiatus in the preceding quotation.

At 71.16 there is room for about twenty more letters in six lines, and the page is one line short of the usual number, thirty-seven.

At 73.14 about eleven more letters could have found place in the space occupied by three lines. Here, with our knowledge of Robinson's habit of repetition, a careful examination of the context easily leads to the surmise that after "Ammunition" words to the

effect "to procure food" may have been for typographic or other reasons dropped out after the page or paragraph was first set, which necessitated a respacing of the context.

At 304.24 the extension covers four lines. A possible oversight in making a deletion is indicated by a comma after "Hand," which is cured later by the substitution of a period; and in the second edition "The two Men" is brought up from below into the fourth line—which measures the amount of the possible deletion.

These cases are chiefly of typographic interest. More important for our consideration is the following:

38.4 at *Brasil,* and when it came there, if any one

Unnecessary blank space is left in the first edition before and after "*Brasil,*" which word lacks the usual article and final *s*. To that line the second edition adds "of-" from the line next below, thus taking up some of the slack, so to speak. There was really space enough for the insertion of at least one more letter, but any other division of "offer'd" under five letters would not have been good technique from the compositor's standpoint. The addition of five letters or their equivalent might have unduly crowded the line.

In explanation of this hiatus I may say that the predominant reference in *Robinson Crusoe* to Brazil is "the *Brasils*." This form occurs at line 17 on the same page as the foregoing, and in at least nine other places throughout the text. It is possible that "the *Brasils*" was first set in line 4 and was later changed as indicated above, to avoid congestion, which improvement was further advanced in the second edition as already explained, but not by restoring the phraseology usual to Defoe. The later compositor followed his copy.

Farther down on the same page in line 34, and later again in the same signature, at 43.32, occurs the form "in the *Brasilo*," which is probably a compositor's error, however it came about, and is so considered by Professor Trent (*Robinson Crusoe*). The sixth (8vo) edition prints "in the *Brasilio*" in these two places, in a

misguided effort to correct the Latin (!) form of the first edition. Defoe knew better than this in either case, for the Latin for Brazil is *Brazilia*, and he certainly cannot have had a hand in the attempted betterment.

In the omission, therefore, of the date (46), and in these other omissions, deletions, and transformations, I see much reason to believe that Defoe did not participate.

EXCERPTS FROM THE COX EDITION

Some of Cox's mistakes and peculiarities are given first (not always literally), with an explanation:

Cox		Taylor
54.12	view'd the Countries [discovered the country]	83.4
55.10	the Weather began to continue fair [be settled fair]	84.12
102.8	no room to spare [a little room, etc.]	141.35
118.3	Canal six foot wide and four broad [deep]	160.36
127.29	she-goat . . . . him [he-goat]	172.3
129.17	fed them as near me [used, i.e., accustomed, them to feed as near me, etc.]	174.5
134.1	It may not be amiss to inform you, etc. [The information had already been given. Defoe says "You are to understand," i.e., be reminded]	179.5
135.22	Robinson reaches his Castle before telling us that it was the discovery of the footprint that drove him there	181.29
155.10	Hair stood "an End" [hair lifted off his hat. The expression "up an End" occurs in all the Taylor editions except the fourth (,) (63.34) where we read "up on End."]*	210.11
170.19	I found several shirts, Handkerchiefs, and Neckcloths: which were . . . . exceeding comfortable to wipe my Face [the former were, etc.]	228.14
180.28	Friday buried the two savages, so they should not frighten the others [lead the others to search the island?]	242.34
181.1	Friday went to castle with Robinson [*not* to castle]	243.6

* It seems to have been current for "up on End," and ocurs as late as 1800 in Isaac James's *Providence Displayed*, p. 49. In the *Adventures* [etc.] *of James Dubourdieu* (1719), p. 43, it is used in the sense of "all told." The author says, on the return of the pirates who had gone in a boat to view the country: "They brought an account that they had gone to the best of their judgment fifty miles an End," i.e., from beginning to end.

TAUTOLOGY

155.13 with the Consideration of considering
165.11 Commiserate the Misery

ODD EXPRESSIONS

18.25	tarry while Day [till Day]	27.1
68.1	lay while Morning [till far into the Night]	102.4
176.4	I lay perdue in my Castle [still]	238.9
197.8	Devoirs [obligations]	265.23
201.28	"All those little Matters, to where [to do which is easy where?] there are many Hands, took me up, etc. [omission?]	271.
229.19	set up their Heels	314.5

Bearing on the question of Gildon's editorship of the Cox edition, the following topics are treated in the latter as in the original:

Cox		Taylor
33.1	Robinson buried 20 or 30 feet under a wave	51.22
36.8	The breeches incident	56/57
53.26	Ship burst to pieces, and nothing visible but her wreck	82.21
154.23	Cave where Robinson found the goat was "totally dark"	209.27

Cases where the Cox text is an improvement on the Taylor:

Cox		Taylor
30.31	The Captain was for going back (was going)	47.30
31.30	For sail we had none ("As to making Sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we ha' done anything with it;")	50.4
35.9	I walk'd as far as I could to get to her (I walk'd as far as I could . . . . to have got to her)	55.11
38.7	Mouth of a little River, the Land opening before me (Mouth of a little River, with land on both sides)	59.28
81.14	Grapes could be had (Grapes might be to be had)	116.24
81.20	Travelling near four Miles, as I guess, by the the [*sic*] length of the Valley (four Miles, as I might judge by the Length of the Valley, keeping still due North)	116.31

[This passage has been reprinted verbatim from Taylor, I believe without comment, since Defoe's day, and has possibly been accepted as a paradox. Cox's punctua-

Cox Taylor

tion throws a different light on it. "By the length of" means "parallel with." Cf. "at Length" (T. 63.36). Ullrich (*Robinson Crusoe*, p. 99) makes a double error: "legte ziemlich vier Meilen zurück; ich schloss das aus der Länge des Thales, das immer noch genau nach Norden lief." Robinson had never before been over this ground.]

141.18 Wood . . . . in a manner impassable (perfectly impassable) 191.7

159.27 drew up the Ladder after me, and made everything look as wild and natural as possible [Defoe intensifies the inverted order of ideas by using "without" after "every thing"] 215.14

213.24 they had five Men drowned when they lost their Ship (five of their own Men were drowned when the first ship [Portuguese] was lost). [This is a fine example of intelligent correction. In the Phoenix edition this page is printed from the same "setting" used for the Lion edition, after the resetting of two lines, in which "whom" is erroneously changed to "who," and "the first ship" corrected to "first the Ship"; see Plate III.] 289.6

216.2 Written agreement omitted 294.12

208.18 *Friday* would fain have persuaded me to take one of their *Canoes*, and pursue them (fain have had me took . . . . and pursu'd them) 281.14

210.18 was so weak, he could not support himself (so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself . . . . that he could not stand) 284.16

221.27 they had but two Pieces, one of which [Defoe makes it uncertain whether the mutineers had on shore with them one or two guns, by using his characteristic and superfluous "and"—"and one which," etc.]* 302.26

* That this habit has survived to the present day, notice the following taken from the *New York Commercial* of February, 1925: "If the protective powers of the nation, and which in this instance are discoverable in our tariff system, are not invoked," etc.

WILLIAM BEER
1849–1927

BY EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER

Some twelve years ago, when I first visited New Orleans, I was rather intrigued to see at every concert, lecture, and ball a strange old gentleman, always in the front row and invariably asleep. Even as he dozed he seemed to retain an uncanny consciousness, like a cat, for he always woke up the instant the entertainment was over. I was puzzled to know why, under the circumstances, he ever went at all; and it was not until I got to know him well that I discovered he attended these affairs for the little social contacts he made on the way in and out, which meant much in his lonely old bachelor life.

The sleepy old gentleman was none other than William Beer, librarian of the Howard Memorial Library, and almost as well known a landmark in New Orleans as the Cabildo. Very soon I began visiting him, and learned to make my way through the little grilled wicket on the right, past the three nice ladies in black who acted as gentle "Cerberuses" for the library's treasures, to the back of the building. There, behind a desk piled so high with littered books, pamphlets, and letters, that they looked as if they were going to start a landslide at any minute and bury him, sat Mr. Beer, with more books stacked knee deep all around the floor.

It was impossible to see him without realizing he was a character. A brush of gray hair shot straight up from his forehead like a cockatoo's comb, and an accentuated hawk-nose overhung a clipped moustache and a neatly pointed gray beard. Bushy eyebrows overshadowed tired eyes, misty-irised with age, and his whole appearance suggested a sleepy bird of prey; but this predatory impression was most misleading, for in reality he was a very kindly but

caustic old gentleman, who derived the keenest pleasure from presenting to someone a book or pamphlet he or she really desired and had long sought. Indeed, he had in a superlative degree that priceless quality in a good librarian—a passion for placing the right books in just the right hands, where they would become the most effective tools for creative work.

Like us all, he had his little vanities. He loved to surprise his visitors, to play the prestidigitator, and, figuratively, to pull some amazing white rabbit of a book out of a seemingly empty top hat. I always suspected him of stage managing these effects and, when he learned some important collector was coming, of salting away in the piles around his desk a few books that he knew would be of superlative interest, and then suddenly appearing to find them at the very moment their production would most dazzle his visitor.

A sympathetic listener was balm to his heart, and he would reminisce for hours as he sat intrenched behind ramparts of stacked volumes flanked by batteries of the quaint second-hand letter presses used for straightening out the warped boards of his books. Sometimes he'd fall asleep with a sentence half finished, only to wake up in a short while to continue as if there had been no interruption, or to begin again in the middle of some new and different anecdote—which was disconcerting until one became accustomed to it. Often he recounted boring personalities and frequently repeated himself, but, if his listener was patient and sympathetic, he was sure to come away with some really worth-while bit of the old gentleman's amazing knowledge of books and people. As a *raconteur*, Beer had a keen flair—when he stayed awake!

One day he told me the various steps by which he became a bookman. Born in Plymouth, England, in 1849, he swore he had learned to read when he was three years old and had been an omnivorous reader ever since. By the time he was sixteen his interest in and knowledge of books was so well known in his natal town that he was put on the Board of Directors of a small library. At nineteen he had saved up enough to buy—not a gun, or a dress suit, or

a bicycle—but a share of stock of the Plymouth Public Library. As a matter of fact, it was anything but public, for it was necessary not only to own stock but also to be elected to membership before being permitted to use it. It was a mausoleum for unread books of staunch British sentiment and ideas, with the spirit of frozen tradition hovering over it, and Beer said that membership was regarded as a social distinction rather than an intellectual opportunity. The Board of Governors was composed entirely of moribund and retired admirals, judges, generals, and colonial governors. How they ever elected Beer, then a boy of nineteen, to that august body Heaven only knows. But they did, possibly because they wanted one worker—someone who would take down the minutes of the meetings without going to sleep—and the first act of this young "Daniel," after his election, was to beard in their own den the very roaring old British lions who had given him his position. It came about because a certain wealthy grocer of Plymouth had acquired a great deal of money and then social aspirations. Wishing to further these desires, he acquired a share of stock in the library, only to find that ownership alone gave him no right to read a book or even set foot within the sacred precincts, without first being elected. His name was proposed but was laid over from meeting to meeting until over a year had elapsed, for the Board shuddered at the idea of such a commoner becoming a fellow-member and having an equal right of sleeping in the same comfortable leather chairs, possibly even disturbing them with his common snoring. Finally, however, the Chairman felt some action must be taken, and, at one of the meetings, he said, "It seems a certain Bunce has applied for membership; does anyone know anything of him by any chance?"

There was not a whisper in the room until, after a long wait, Beer spoke up and said, "Well, gentlemen, this is rather ridiculous, because you all know him perfectly well. You buy all your groceries from him. He's well off, respectable, and there's no reason why he should not become a member since he owns a share of stock."

"Daniel" triumphed and the grocer was elected. Luckily the

modern library seems animated by a very different idea as to the scope of its service.

Soon after this incident Beer had saved twenty pounds with which to pay his expenses on a first visit to London. The afternoon of his arrival there, as he was gawking through the streets, he stumbled upon the famous Christy's and drifted in. He found an auction going on and the auctioneer holding up a finely bound volume by an author who Beer knew was famous. It was going at twenty-one shillings. Lust for books alight in him, Beer said "Twenty-two," and the auctioneer struck the table with his gavel, "Sold." But when he continued and said, "Sold, the eighty-four volumes at twenty-two shillings a piece," poor Beer said that, if his legs had not suddenly become as boneless as boiled macaroni, he would have run away, for he had thought the lot consisted of but one volume and he only had twenty pounds in his pocket. However, he kept a poker face as he tried to discover some way out of his scrape. Just as he was arriving at the mortifying conclusion that he would have to throw himself on the mercy of the auctioneer, a cheerful voice at his elbow said, "I was sorry to get in too late to bid on that set, but I'll give you twenty-five shillings each if you'll take it." Beer went on his way rejoicing with about twelve pounds in his pocket as the profit on his first book deal. This lucky fluke probably sealed his fate and made it inevitable that he should eventually become a bookman.

But before he finally succumbed he tried his hand at many other jobs—in fact, developed into a sort of "jack of all professions," for he studied medicine in Paris from 1872 to 1878 and then returned to England to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where in 1878 he graduated from the College of Physical Science and then went into business there until 1886, when he came to the United States and worked for four years as a mining engineer out West.

All this varied experience and study of different sciences gave him a remarkable fund of general information and a cultural background to bring to his new profession, when, in 1890, in some mysterious manner, he became librarian of the Public Library of

Topeka, Kansas. He stayed there only a year before he came to New Orleans and accepted the position of librarian of the Howard Memorial Library. In those first early days he found that city a book collector's paradise, and Beer combed it with enthusiasm. He was as catholic in his tastes as a laughing hyena is about food, and collected everything from sugar reports to rare Louisiana imprints, and plenty of both. Quite right he was, too, for there was no branch of knowledge upon which he was not called upon, at some time or other, to furnish books.

He made many staunch friends among the other collectors, and one in particular in Dr. Bauer, a dentist, living on Esplanade, two doors toward the river from Rampart. The dentist's first wife had died, and he had married a buxom, very much younger woman, who had no sympathy with his hobby—the collection of books and bronzes. To illustrate the doctor's enthusiasm, Beer said he once met him in the street staggering home with a huge bronze clock under his arm. Stopping to chat, Bauer said nervously, "You know, my house is so full of books and bronzes that I have nowhere to put this clock except in my wife's bedroom, and I know she's going to make a frightful scene."

One day Dr. Herbert Putnam, on a visit to New Orleans, was walking with Beer when they met Bauer. Beer said to Putnam, "I'm going to introduce to you a queer character, but a great collector. His admiration for Barye almost amounts to idolatry, and he even has some of his statuettes cast in silver."

As soon as he heard the name, Bauer said, "You are the Dr. Putnam who is the librarian of the Congressional Library, are you not?"

"Yes," said Putnam.

"Then you're a trustee of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, and I want to tell you that a Barye bronze of a lion has been stolen from the third case in such and such a room of the gallery." He gave the exact location.

The explanation of Bauer's information was simpler than it

sounded. He had admired so much and studied so carefully Barye's work that the exact location of every piece in the Corcoran Gallery was indelibly photographed on his mind, and at his last visit to Washington he had missed one piece.

When Dr. Putnam returned he went to the Gallery and found the vacant place in the case just as Bauer had described it. A quiet word passed among people who might buy such things soon resulted in the return of the statuette.

Dr. Bauer died some years ago, and his widow, only too glad to free her house of what she considered "junk," had an auction. One or two collectors arrived before the sale and managed to hide some of the most valuable of his books in the drawers of a table, where they were not discovered until after all the other bidders had gone, which made it possible for the men who had played this dirty trick to bid them in at their own price. The day after the sale a man came to Beer and made him a present of two very valuable pamphlets, which he said he had picked up off the floor at the Bauer sale. That was the way auctions were run in those days.

The most amusing of Beer's book adventures, to me, was his encounter with Edgar Farrar, the distinguished Louisiana lawyer, a man of Garguantuan girth and equally uncontrollable temper.

One night at the theater Beer noticed a little girl next to him who began to cry and sob to her mother that she could see nothing. The mother reached over and, touching a very stout lady sitting in front, asked her to remove her hat so that her daughter could see; but the fat lady answered, "I will do no such thing."

Beer heard this interchange and said in a perfectly audible tone to his small neighbor, "Little girl, change seats with me; I guess I can see over that elephant." The "elephant's" back quivered with indignation as the exchange was made, but she said nothing. As Beer left the theater after the performance was over, an enormous man came up to him and said, "Mr. Beer, I never meant to speak to you, but that little girl was my daughter. Won't you come and see my books some time?"

A few days later Beer called, and Farrar showed him his library. After they had examined the contents of the shelves, Farrar could contain himself no longer and said, "But Mr. Beer, you have only just glanced at my most valuable book!"

"You mean your *Annuaire Louisianais* of 1809, of course. But I've had it in my hands, I know all about it, and I'm sorry to have to tell you that yours is a redundant copy."

"What do you mean?" said Farrar.

"Why," replied Beer, "if you had two noses on your face, one would be redundant, wouldn't it? Well, when I glanced at your *Annuaire*, I noticed that twin copies of each of the last two pages had been bound in by mistake, so your book is a redundant copy."

The sly old fox, Beer, had a copy himself, but his, strange as it may seem, was defective in the very respect in which Farrar's was "redundant," the last two pages having been completely worn away by some previous owner having carried it around in his pocket. This deficiency had worried the old gentleman, and he had been thinking very fast and talking with a purpose.

No bibliophile had ever heard of a "redundant" book before; it was a little invention of Mr. Beer's; but just the same Farrar could not stand having such a term of reproach applied to the gem of his collection, and he said, "Well, if that's all the matter with it I'll soon cure that," and he started to tear the extra leaves out.

But Beer immediately spoke up and said, "Don't, let me cut them out neatly," which he proceeded to do, and then placed the severed leaves on the table. Farrar reached over to throw them into the waste-paper basket, but Beer again interfered and said, "Don't, I may find some use for them," and slipped them into his pocket.

At this point in the tale the old gentleman always chuckled and said, "So I became possessed of a complete copy and Farrar's was cured of its 'redundancy.'"[1]

[1] If you go to the library and ask to see the *Annuaire Louisianais* of 1809, you will notice, upon looking carefully, that the last two pages have been painstakingly pasted in.

But no longer is it possible to sit gossiping with the old man and watch his head nod and his old, old eyes film over and close like a sick eagle's, for he has fallen so soundly asleep that never again will he wake up to go on speaking just as if there had been no interruption; . . . . . and . . . . I'm sorry.

WRITINGS OF WILLIAM BEER, 1849–1927

COMPILED BY FLORENCE S. HELLMAN, CHIEF ASSISTANT, DIVISION OF BIBLIOGRAPHY, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

[NOTE.—Includes a few references furnished by Miss Jeanne M. F. Deynoodt.]

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1890 Report on aids and guides. (American library association. Papers and proceedings, 11th [12] general meeting, Fabyan House, White Mountains, Sept. 8–11, 1890. Boston, 1890. 25½ cm. p. 73–74.)

1892 One librarian's work [at the Topeka, Kansas, Free Public Library]. (Library journal, Apr. 1892, v. 17:120–121. New York, 1892. 25 cm.)

1894 On library floors and floor-coverings. (American library association. Papers and proceedings, 17th general meeting, Lake Placid, N.Y., Sept. 17–22, 1894. Boston, New York, 1894. 26 cm. p. 100–101.)

1894 Libraries in the South [verbal report]. (American library association. Papers and proceedings. 17th general meeting, Lake Placid, N.Y., Sept. 17–22, 1894. Boston, New York, 1894. 26 cm. p. 121–122.)

1896 The capture of Fort Charlotte, Mobile. (Louisiana historical society. Publications, v. 1, pt. 3, p. 31–34. New Orleans, La., 1896. 22 cm.)

1896 The surrender of Fort Charlotte, Mobile, 1780. [Introductory remarks to documents.] (American historical review, July, 1896, v. 1:696–699. New York, 1896. 26½ cm.)

1897 Chronological conspectus [of Audubon's work]. (Bradford, Mary Fluker. Audubon. New Orleans [Press of L. Graham & son, ltd.] 1897. 18½ cm. p. 81–82.)

1897 The Fisk Free and Public Library of New Orleans. (American library association. Papers and proceedings, 19th general meeting, Philadelphia, Pa., June 21–25, 1897. Boston and New York, 1897. 26 cm. p. 32–34.)

1898 List of French fiction, chosen and annotated by Madame Sophie Cornu ... and William Beer ... Boston [etc.]. Pub. for the A.L.A. Publishing section by the Library bureau, 1898. 28 p. 12½ cm. (American library association annotated lists).

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1901 Early levée building. (Tompkins, Frank H., *comp.* Riparian lands of the Mississippi River, past—present—prospective; being a collection of essays and discussions of problems affecting ... the Mississippi River ... [Chicago, A. L. Swift & co.] 1901. 31 cm. p. 139–140.)

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1902 Information on Louisiana genealogy. (Library journal, Oct. 1902, v. 27:870. New York, 1902. 25 cm.)

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1904 Cartography of Mississippi in the 16th century. (Mississippi historical society. Publications, v. 8, p. 341–343. Oxford, 1904. 25 cm.)

1904 Some points of interest to students of Louisiana history. [New Orleans], 1904. 3 l. fol.

1905 An index to current events [Search light]. (Library journal, Feb. 1905, v. 30:114. New York, 1905. 25 cm.)

1905 National statistics of public libraries. (Library journal, Feb. 1905, v. 30:114. New York, 1905. 25 cm.)

1906 Cellars possible in New Orleans. (Architecture, v. 1, no. 7, January, 1906:7. Published by the Louisiana architectural association, New Orleans.)

1906 Art reference books. (Library journal, Apr. 1906, v. 31: 200. New York, 1906. 25 cm.)

1906 Contributions to Louisiana history. New Orleans, La. [Howard memorial library] 1906. Cover-title, 8 p. 15½ cm.

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1908 French manuscripts. Mississippi Valley, 1679–1769. (Louisiana historical society. Publications, v. 4, p. 4–120. New Orleans, 1908. 22 cm.

Transcript of a volume of original documents concerning the history of Louisiana.

1910 Notes on Old New Orleans. (Architectural art and its allies, Sept. 1910, v. 6, no. 3, p. 5. New Orleans, 1910. 34½ cm.)

1911 Early census tables of Louisiana. (Louisiana historical society. Publications, v. 5, p. 79–103. New Orleans, La., 1911. 22 cm.)

1912 Louisiana. (*In* The Americana, a universal reference library. v. 13. New York, Scientific American compiling department, 1912. 26 cm.)

1912 Some points in Louisiana cartography. (International congress of Americanists. 17th, 1910. Reseña de la segunda sesión del XVII Congreso internacional de americanistas efectuada en la ciudad de México durante el mes de septiembre de 1910. México, Imp. del Museo n. de arqueología, historia y etnología, 1912. p. 436–440. 23½ cm.)

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1914 Material for Louisiana genealogy. [New Orleans, 1914?] 1 l. 8°. (Caption-title.)

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"It is believed by many that the term 'Dixie' originated in the popular use of the bank bill which was issued by the Citizens' bank of New Orleans for a number of years before the Civil War."

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1918 Tribute to Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart. (Louisiana historical society. Publications, v. 10, p. 115–116. New Orleans, 1918. 22 cm.)

1920 Louisiana state war activities. (Mississippi valley historical association. Proceedings, 1920, v. 10, pt. 1, p. 108–111. Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1920. 25½ cm.)

1923 Checklist of American periodicals, 1741–1800. Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., The Society, 1923. 18 p. 24½ cm.

"Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American antiquarian society for October, 1922," v. 32, pt. 2, p. 330–345. "The titles are given briefly ... [with] the dates of beginning and conclusion, frequency of publication, size, place of imprint, and name of printer and publisher ... The location of files in the ... larger libraries ... is given."

1923 "Moniteur de la Louisiane," New Orleans, 1794. (Bibliographical society of America. Papers, v. 14, 1920. Chicago, Ill., The University of Chicago press, 1923. 24 cm. p. 127–131.)

1923 New Orleans and Bayou St. John in 1766. Extract from Journal of an Expedition along the Ohio and Mississippi by Captain Harry Gordon, 1766, p. 17. (Louisiana historical quarterly, Jan. 1923, v. 6, p. 19–20. New Orleans, La. 1923. 26 cm.)

1923 The visit of Illinois Indians to France in 1725. (Louisiana historical quarterly, Apr. 1923, v. 6, p. 189–193. New Orleans, La., 1923. 26 cm.)

1923 A contemporary English view on the trade and prospects of New Orleans at the close of the French dominion. Extract from "Observations on West Florida" by Jacob Blackwell, about 1766. (Louisiana historical quarterly, Apr. 1923, v. 6, p. 221–222. New Orleans, La., 1923. 26 cm.)

1923 List of writings of Grace King. (Louisiana historical quarterly, July, 1923, v. 6, p. 378–379. New Orleans, La. 1923. 26 cm.)

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OUR FRONTISPIECE [William Beer]. (Bulletin of bibliography, Boston, May–Aug. 1923. v. 12, p. 2. 25½ cm.)

WILLIAM BEER. Who's who in America, 1924–1925. v. 13. (Chicago, A. N. Marquis & co., 1925. p. 363.)

VETERAN LIBRARY CHIEF and noted collector dead. (Times-Picayune, New Orleans, Feb. 2, 1927, p. 2, col. 3.)

DEATH'S TOLL [William Beer]. (Libraries, Chicago, Mar. 1927, v. 32, p. 123.)

WILLIAM BEER [obituary notice]. (American historical review, Apr. 1927, v. 32, p. 678.)

DART, HENRY P. Editor's chair—In memoriam William Beer. (Louisiana historical quarterly, Apr. 1927, v. 10: 249–251.)

EARLY NATIVE ENGRAVERS OF HAWAII

The first missionaries arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1820. Their number included Elisha Loomis, a printer, and they carried with them a printing-press and a font of type.[1] Stephen Shepard, another printer, came in 1828, and he was followed by at least three others: Edmund H. Rogers in 1832, Lemuel Fuller in 1833, and Edwin O. Hall in 1835. In the latter year Henry Dimond, a bookbinder, also came to the islands.

These men and their associates should be remembered as the pioneers in the establishment of a Hawaiian press. The story of printing and publishing in the Hawaiian Islands covers over one hundred years of very diversified and interesting activity. It includes the production of many books in both English and Hawaiian, newspapers and magazines in both languages, as well as many official documents.

Early in 1822 a spelling-book was printed in the Hawaiian language. The King himself "pulled" the first sheets of this book on January 7 of that year. Within eight years thereafter, twenty-two books were issued.[2] These may be considered as Hawaiian incunabula.

The first Hawaiian newspaper was established in 1834—the *Lama Hawaii*—and later in the same year another, the *Kumu Hawaii*. The first English newspaper, a weekly, appeared in 1836—the *Sandwich Islands Gazette*. This latter paper was actively hostile to the missionary influence in the islands. The *Hawaiian Spectator* was issued for two years only, 1836 and 1837.[3]

In 1839 the first edition of the Bible in Hawaiian was issued. Many religious works were published as well as others of historical

[1] W. F. Blackman, *The Making of Hawaii* (New York, 1899), p. 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

and general interest. The foundations of a native literature were thus established.

A seminary for the more adequate training of teachers and pastors was established at Lahainaluna in 1831. The attendance at first was largely adult, most of the students being married men. Later this school became a boarding-school for boys.[1]

It is stated that

> one or two pupils of the High School [the seminary at Lahainaluna] have commenced engraving on copper, with a view to furnish copies for writing, maps, etc. Thirty natives or more have been instructed and well initiated into the business of printing and book-binding. They learn with a tolerable facility to set types and correct them, and they perform a great portion of this labor in issuing our publications. Nearly all the press-work that has been done at our presses has been done by native hands.[2]

The skill of the native engravers at Lahainaluna is said to have been remarkable.[3]

Recently through the kindness of Georg Rodiek, Esq., of San Francisco, I have had the pleasure of examining a small collection of engravings, the work of natives at Lahainaluna. The group consists of twelve pieces, as follows:

1. "View of Waimea, Hawaii." $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ inches. Signed—"Na Momona i kaha" and "Na Bailey i kakau." Translated, "This is 'engraved by Momona' and 'drawn by Bailey.' " The Bailey mentioned is Edward Bailey, a missionary, who came to the Hawaiian Islands in 1837. He was evidently the teacher of the art of engraving to the native students at Lahainaluna.

2. "Meetinghouse and school house at Kaneohe." $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Signed—"Na Nuyana i kaha" and "N. Bailey i kakau." This engraving shows two large buildings in the native style of architecture, a number of human figures, and in the background a range of mountains surmounted by banks of clouds. Upon a small bay at the foot of the mountains there are several native boats.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[2] *Missionary Herald*, XXXII, 354.

[3] J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (Boston, 1843), p. 358.

3. "Lahainaluna." $8\frac{5}{8}\times7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Signed—"Na Bailey i kakau" and "Na Kapahoni i kaha." The school was a large two-story building with a projecting wing at the center. It was surmounted by a belfry and flagstaff. There are several other structures, New England in type, and a group of native buildings. The background in this plate is particularly well executed, both the mountain masses and the clouds being vividly portrayed.

4. "Hawaiian Costume." $5\frac{7}{8}\times7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Signed—"Na Momoua i kaha" and "Na Bailey i kakau." Two figures are shown, a man and a woman. The engraver exhibits less skill in handling the human figure than in his delineation of landscape.

5. "View of the Bay of Kaawaloa." $12\times10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Signed—"Drawn by Miss Thurston" and "Eng. by Kapahoni." This plate is of considerable historical interest. The place where Captain Cook met his death is indicated at the base of a rocky promontory and seems to be marked by a cairn of rocks. Two rambling roads wind up the side of the cliff. The Miss Thurston who drew the original sketch was the daughter of Asa Thurston, an early missionary.

6. "Bread fruit tree," "The banana," and "The bamboo." $4\times16\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Signed—"Na Bailey i kakau" and "Na Kapahoni i kaha." This is a long panel depicting three common Hawaiian plants. All are correctly drawn and with marked ability. The bamboo is particularly pleasing, and in the delicacy of its lines recalls the work of Japanese artists.

7. "Holden." 8×4 inches. Signed—"Na Bailey i kakau" and "Na Kapeau i kaha." In this small plate two churches are shown, together with another large building, probably a school. All of these buildings are of a New England type, and one of the churches is of the familiar old meeting-house variety so frequently met with in Massachusetts towns. The missionary enterprise in the Hawaiian Islands was largely supported by Bostonians, so this is not surprising.

8. "The appearance of the three hills formed by the late eruption on the coast at Nanawale bearing East by North one mile distant 9th July, 1840. *A*. Stream of lava. *B*. Hills formed of scoria and volcanic sand. *C*. Steam, smoke and sulphuras gases." $7\frac{3}{4}\times3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Unsigned. This plate is a rather ingenious record by an eyewitness of a volcanic disturbance. The "steam, smoke and sulphuras gases" are indicated by a naïve arrangement of lines resembling a lock of hair.

9. "Lahainaluna." $5\frac{1}{2}\times3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Signed—"Kalmua" (?).

10. "View of Kailua Hawaii." $6\frac{7}{8} \times 19$ inches. Signed—"Drawn by Miss Thurston" and "Na Kapahoni i kaha."

11. "Honolulu. As seen from the foot of Puawaina Punch-bowl-hill." $11\frac{5}{8} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Signed—"Drawn by E. Bailey 1837" and "Eng. by Kalama Lahainaluna." This is one of the earliest views of Honolulu, which at this time consisted of a rambling assemblage of native buildings with a fringe of more pretentious buildings of American type along the water-front. There is one church visible and to be distinguished by its steeple, also two large buildings each with a flagstaff and flags flying therefrom. Several sailing ships are in the harbor, and a nest of masts looms up from behind a group of larger buildings near the head of the bay. Very little vegetation is shown in this plate. There are two groups of palms beside the shore. At the left center are two oddly drawn prancing horses with riders and a native burden-carrier.

12. "Maui as seen from Nunulu, Hawaii 35 miles distant." $9\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Signed—"Na Nuuanu i kaha."

All of these engravings were probably made between 1837 and 1840. All of the plates display excellent draftsmanship, and the technical execution resembles closely contemporary work in England and the United States. Several of the plates resemble the type of engraved illustration common at that time in books of travel and geography. The engravers were undoubtedly all pupils at Lahainaluna. A new press in 1844 probably improved their work (*Polynesian*, July 27, 1844). These prints are of extreme rarity, and probably some are unique. It is not likely that many impressions were made, and few can have been preserved. As engravings they are only of moderate importance. They present, however, mute evidence of the marked adaptability of the natives of the Hawaiian Islands to a new and difficult art, and of the patience and talent of their teachers.

It is worth while to record the activity of the missionaries in Hawaii at this early date in introducing not only typography but also typography's older sister in the graphic arts—the art of engraving upon copper and of printing from engraved plates.

NATHAN VAN PATTEN

AN UNACKNOWLEDGED WORK OF ARTHUR MACHEN?

The book discussed in this note is frequently met with in the catalogues of English book-dealers. The possibility that it represents the early work of Arthur Machen has apparently not been previously suggested.

Mr. Machen has not acknowledged its authorship in Danielson's *Bibliography*, to which work he contributed an Introduction and many notes. This is not conclusive evidence that he did not have some part in its creation, as bibliographers will readily agree.

The book in question is:

Tobacco Talk // *and* // Smoker's Gossip // *An amusing Miscellany of Fact / and Anecdote relating to the "Great / Plant" in all its Forms and Uses / including a Selection from / Nicotian Literature* / (Publisher's device) / *London / George Redway / MDCCCLXXXVI*

12mo, red-cloth-covered boards, front cover stamped in light green with a long-stemmed pipe, lettered in gold on back, dark-red top-edges, other edges untrimmed.

Collation.—Pp. xvi+148 followed by pp. xvi of advertisements of other Redway publications, the last page being devoted to an announcement of "The Anatomy of Tobacco."

George Redway published Machen's second book, *The Anatomy of Tobacco*, in 1884.

In *Things Near and Far*, Machen, referring to his return to London in 1885, says:

And so the time went on until we were in June, 1885. Then there was a letter from the publisher of "The Anatomy of Tobacco" to the effect that he thought he could find me some odd jobs of work if I would come up to London; and so I returned again to the well remembered cell in Clarendon Road. . . . . All sorts of odd jobs and queer jobs awaited

me. I was given a big folio book full of cuttings on a particular subject and the publisher asked me to make a selection from these and so compile a book of oddments. . . . .

Later in the same book Machen speaks of working upon the catalogue (*The Literature of Occultism and Archaeology*) and of doing some compiling.

What was this "book of oddments," and was it ever published? Redway, we know, issued under the title just mentioned a catalogue of old books which he had for sale, and that this was the work of Machen.[1] In 1886 Redway published Machen's translation of *The Heptameron*, in 1887 a pamphlet, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, and a translation of *The Fortunate Lovers*.

Of the books published during this period by Redway, none certainly answers better the description "book of oddments" than does *Tobacco Talk and Smoker's Gossip*, and what would be more natural than that the author of *The Anatomy* should have been also the compiler of *Tobacco Talk?*

In the Preface to this book the editor says:

The present collection of Notes and Anecdotes has been gleaned from the more generally interesting portion of a History of Tobacco which for some years has been in progress and the materials for which were gathered from every available source. Not only novels and plays, old newspapers, travels and memoirs have been examined or perused; but the works of poets and satirists, histories, acts of parliament, technical treaties, the accounts of early voyages, collections of tracts and tobacco journals have been ransacked for contributions on the use and abuse, the praise and blame of the "plant divine." For the delectation of all devotees of Tobacco; for those who take their Latakia from the seductive meerschaum, or Virginia from the clay; for those who taste the "naked beauties" of Sweet Havana as well as those who the "primrose path of dalliance tread" with a cigarette between their teeth; we have brought together in this little volume droll stories of the pipe, the romantic history of the snuff-box, odds and ends of Tobacco lore, and pages of splendid panegyric by nicotians such as Charles Lamb and Byron, Bulwer and

[1] See Danielson, *Bibliography*, p. 7.

Thackeray. Here too will be found pleasant gossip about famous tobacco-takers from Raleigh to Tennyson; not omitting the small sins of royalty, the backslidings of bishops (archbishops too) in this respect; soldiers and doctors, lawyers and artists, poets and peers—everyone in short who is an honor to Nicotian society; among whom one living lady at least must be numbered—no less an exalted person than an Empress! The Editor desires to associate with this work the name of a friend, Mr. Ernest Darke, whose unremitting labours augmented considerably the mass of material from which *Tobacco Talk* was derived.

This passage suggests that the editor refers to the big folio book full of cuttings on a particular subject given to Machen by the publisher. Strangely, too, no extracts or references to such an original work as *The Anatomy of Tobacco*, with which the editor must have been familiar, appear in this book. Was the editor perhaps Machen himself?

Although there are numerous verbatim quotations in *Tobacco Talk*, much of the text is original matter, thus making it something more than an anthology.

Upon comparing the two books it is easy to believe that they are both the work of the same hand.

Should this book prove to be the work of Arthur Machen, it would be his third book. As far as collectors are concerned, it might be considered his second publication. His first book, *Eleusinia*, apparently exists in but a single copy, and that in the possession of its author and so beyond the reach of Machen collectors.

In any event the book is of considerable Machen interest and may well be included in any collection of his work.

NATHAN VAN PATTEN

A NORWEGIAN BIBLIOGRAPHER AND HIS LATEST WORK

From time immemorial modest authors have adopted various devices for concealing their identity. Whether omission of the author's name from the publication or the adoption of some false or fictitious name has been the most popular expedient is hard to say. At any rate, we find that as early as the seventeenth century, books of unknown authorship had multiplied to such an extent that they presented a real problem to librarians, bibliographers, and writers of literary history.

This fact and the natural curiosity to pierce the veil of secrecy with which certain authors had chosen to surround themselves were no doubt the main incentives to the compilation of the earliest reference works which aim to provide guides to authors of books published anonymously or under assumed names.

One of the first, if not the first, attempt to deal with the problem in print is Friedrich Geisler's *Disputatio de nominum mutatione et anonymis scriptoribus* (1669), reissued the following year by J. Becker under another title. Of other works on the subject which appeared before the close of the century, the best known are those of Vinc. Placcius and Johannes Rhodius. The chief work of Placcius, his *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum*, did not appear, however, before 1708.

When it is remembered how important a part the classical languages, especially Latin, played in the cultural and learned life of the period, it is not surprising to find that many of these early works deal largely with Latin pseudonyms.

In France the first effort along this line of bibliographical endeavor is probably Adrien Baillet's *Auteurs déguisez sous des noms étrangers* (1690). In spite of the great rarity of this work and the

fact that it contains many and serious errors, it remained almost the only aid of its kind for French bibliographers and literary historians until Barbier in 1806 undertook the thankless task of providing a better and more reliable guide. The result was his *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes* (4 vols.), a work known to all bibliographers, reissued in enlarged form in 1822. Equally well known is Quérard's *Supercheries littéraires dévoilées*, in which the compiler attempts to combine the findings of Barbier with those of another French bibliographer, De Manne.

In Great Britain and America, aside from a few scattering notices in the *London catalogue* and similar serial publications, no single work of reference had attempted to deal with anonyms and pseudonyms until 1868, when there appeared a *Handbook of fictitious names*, by Olphar Hamst, a name which turned out to be an anagram for Ralph Thomas.

Finally, in 1881–88, there appeared a long-expected work announced in 1874, but delayed because of the death of the two joint compilers, *Dictionary of the anonymous and pseudonymous literature of Great Britain* (4 vols.), by Samuel Halkett and John Laing, a new edition of which is in course of publication. About the same time, Cushing published his *Initials and pseudonyms* (1885–88), followed by his *Anonyms* in 1889.

Other works, e.g., the series of seven volumes of Holzmann and Bohatta, *Deutsches Anonymen u. Pseudonymen Lexikon* (*1501–1910*), Melzi's *Dizionario de opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani*, and particularly the many publications from the less important countries, will not be mentioned in this connection, except in so far as they deal with Norwegian authors.

It is quite evident to any observer that even in the most important countries, guides to anonymous and pseudonymous literature have not only been slow in appearing, but have in most cases failed to provide that accurate and exhaustive information so essential to bibliographical research. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that in Norway, one of the smallest countries of Europe,

the first work to deal especially with this phase of its bibliographical and literary problems should have appeared as late as 1890. It is true that in 1869, Collin had made, in his *Anonymer og pseudonymer i den danske, norske, og islandske literatur*, a partial attempt to cover this field. His work, however, touched the literature of Norway only incidentally and did not record works published after 1860.

The period 1860–90 witnessed a great increase in the literary output of the country, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the need of an up-to-date reference-book dealing especially with the pseudonymous and anonymous literature of Norway should have impressed itself on a young man who about this time had graduated from the University of Christiania and soon after had become an amanuensis in the University Library. His name was Hjalmar Pettersen. In 1890, less than four years after his entrance into the library profession, he published his first effort, a small book of sixty-four pages, *Anonymer og pseudonymer i den norske literatur, 1678–1890, bibliografiske meddelelser*. In the Preface to this work there is an intimation that a second edition may be called for. This second edition appeared in 1924, a large octavo of three hundred and seventy pages, practically a new work.

Including, as it does, the data collected by this industrious bibliographer during a library career of nearly thirty-eight years, the publication of this work of reference constitutes a bibliographic event of importance not only for Norway, but for librarians, bibliographers, and writers on literary history throughout the world. The author is already well known in bibliographic circles because of his monumental work, *Bibliotheca Norvegica*, also because of many and valuable contributions to bibliographical publications, particularly in the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain.

It is a well-known fact that many of the compilers of the most comprehensive bibliographies have received only slight material reward for their labors. Some have actually suffered starvation because of their devotion to a task the completion of which had been made their chief aim in life. This does not, however, apply in the

present instance. Hjalmar Pettersen is a man of independent means. Many librarians and bibliographers, including several from English-speaking countries, have visited his magnificent home on the island Bygdö near Oslo, and have there enjoyed Norse hospitality at its best. They have observed natural surroundings, a mingling of water, forest, and mountain, rarely equaled even in Norway. They have found themselves in an atmosphere of Old World culture and refinement and surrounded by one of the best private libraries of Northern Europe. In this environment, with the resources of the University Library at hand and the means to carry on research, when necessary, in the greatest libraries of Europe, it is no wonder that Hjalmar Pettersen has been able to show results.

Both in the present work and in his *Bibliotheca Norvegica* he has endeavored to cover not only books written in Norwegian, but also books in other languages which deal with Norwegian history, literature, art, life, customs, or conditions. This feature gives added importance to the publications as reference-books of value for libraries outside of Norway.

The arrangement adopted in the *Dictionary of anonyms and pseudonyms in Norwegian literature*, is the usual alphabetical order of titles under the first word not an article, with occasional exceptions. Titles of works not actually examined by the author himself, but taken from some authoritative bibliography, are indicated by an asterisk. An alphabetical list of pseudonyms with a reference to the real name as given in the final Index of Personal Names is added.

The expense of the publication, no doubt formidable, has been met in part by the Nansen Fund and the Jubilee Fund of the University of Oslo.

The bibliographer who has been the subject of this brief notice has now retired, and it seems unlikely that he will continue for any length of time his researches on the *Anonyma and pseudonyma in Norwegian literature*. Most likely he will arrange, if he has not already done so, to have some younger man take over his notes and carry forward the investigations.

We are reminded by the appearance of the second edition of Hjalmar Pettersen's *Dictionary of anonyms and pseudonyms*, thirty-four years after the issue of the first edition, that it is now thirty-nine years since the appearance of Cushing's *Anonyms*, and forty years since the second series of his *Initials and pseudonyms* was published. It is therefore high time that these important aids to bibliographers and reference librarians be supplemented or replaced, either by new works or by much enlarged editions of the original publications.

At the Library of Congress there was initiated many years ago, even before the removal of the library from the Capitol to its present quarters, an elaborate system of correspondence with authors and publishers in regard to doubtful or fictitious names and the authorship of anonymous books. I doubt whether any institution or individual in America has as much material on this subject as will be found in the Catalogue Division and the Copyright Office of the Library of Congress. I trust that one of the good effects of the recent Reclassification Act will be an improvement in service and personnel which shall enable the Library of Congress to resume that active production of bibliographical aids, so marked a feature of its service prior to 1916.

Aside, perhaps, from the completion of its great classification, the first volume of which appeared in 1901, and a General Index to it, I can think of no publication more likely to be welcomed by librarians, bibliographers, and students than an elaboration of *Cushing*, which should accomplish for American literature a service similar to that achieved for the literature of Norway by the monumental work of Hjalmar Pettersen. It would furnish a most fitting complement to the two great works of reference now in process of compilation, the completed *Sabin* and the great *American national biographical dictionary*.

J. C. M. Hanson

SECOND CENSUS OF 15TH CENTURY BOOKS

Miss Stillwell reports that since December, 1924, when the editing of a *Second Census of 15th Century Books Owned in America* was officially undertaken, approximately eight thousand newly acquired incunabula have been reported to the Annmary Brown Memorial. The astonishing influx of incunabula into America during the first half of the decade was due, no doubt, to post-war conditions and the efforts of European booksellers to fill the bookshelves of America. During the last year, and particularly during the last few months, the number of reports of American ownership has greatly decreased. The present rate of acquisition may indicate a normal ratio. If this lessened tension continues for a period, thus showing the special influx to be over, it would seem that the time is near when the publication of the *Second Census* would be appropriate.

Meanwhile, all members of the Bibliographical Society of America, all librarians, and all private collectors (Canada and Mexico included) are urged to search their shelves for stray volumes of fifteenth-century printing that were not recorded in the first *Census* and have not been reported for the second.

The editor asks that each title shall be listed on a library card, under the Hain number if possible. Each card should bear the Hain number, author-entry, brief title, place, printer, date, name of present owner, with whatever special comment as to provenance, etc., the copy may require. (If the copy is not complete, the word "imperfect" is sufficient for the purposes of the *Census*. If not in Hain, or if bearing data from sources other than Hain, the card should give other reference numbers and whatever data may be needed to identify the book.) The reporting of each and every unrecorded, American-owned copy of incunabula is cordially invited. Address: M. B. Stillwell, Librarian, The Annmary Brown Memorial, Providence, R.I.

GESAMTKATALOG DER WIEGENDRUCKE

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Band II: *Alfarabius-Arznei.* Leipzig: Verlag von KARL W. HIERSEMANN, 1926. Folio: pp. xi; col. 786, i.

The *Gesamtkatalog* has undertaken to be a complete catalogue of all the separate works, thirty-seven thousand or more, printed during the fifteenth century. As such, it is becoming one of the most valuable and monumental bibliographical works ever conceived. It does not, however, purport to be a census of all the copies of the fifteenth-century books that are now extant in this the twentieth century. There is a distinction between these points which students seeking to do comparative bibliographical work would do well to bear in mind.[1]

Like the first volume of the *Gesamtkatalog*, the present volume opens with a Preface by the president of the Kommission, Professor Erich von Rath. Following the Preface is a list of the 70 bibliographies that were here consulted for the first time and which, by including those listed in the first volume, present the reader with a working-list of 352 reference-books. The second volume then proceeds to its proper business, the cataloguing of 1,482 numbered titles of the fifteenth-century editions of works whose authors' names fall between *Alf* and *Arz*. Of these titles 633 were unknown to Hain.

As in the first volume, the "call-title" under which each book is entered—under its respective author-entry—is followed by three paragraphs in smaller varied type giving (1) the collation of the

[1] Cf. Schulz, *Archiv für Bibliographie*, I, 113–27.

book; (2) a line-for-line transcript of the opening of the book, of its important divisions, its colophon; and (3) a list of references beginning, whenever possible, with the Hain number. Beneath this is a fourth paragraph giving a complete or partial list of the location of copies according to the rarity of the book. The volume ends with an imprint-and-printer list of the works of Andreas de Escobar, Antoninus Florentinus, and Aristotle. Accompanying it is an insert giving the parallel Hain and *Gesamtkatalog* numbers and several supplementary entries to Volumes I and II. In the course of the volume, 17 unique books are credited to American ownership: Huntington, 7; Walters, 3; Morgan and Hispanic, 2; Harvard, Newberry, and the Annmary Brown Memorial, 1.

Professor von Rath in his Preface calls attention to the lists of printers added as an innovation at the end of the present volume; and he voices the hope that by shortening the description of certain titles in the third and succeeding volumes at least 2,000 titles may be comprised in each. Dr. Ernst Crous, the editor of Volume I and the director of the *Gesamtkatalog's* headquarters at Berlin from 1920 to 1925, has in the present volume turned over his able directorship to Dr. Max Husung, of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, who has continued the original plan, in various details making such improvements as would naturally develop in the course of a work conceived on so large a scale.

Because of the frequently expressed wish of foreign readers for authoritative translations of the explanatory Introduction by Dr. Crous in Volume I, Professor von Rath here promises in his Preface that in the forthcoming third volume shortened translations will be given in each of the leading foreign languages. Such a promise brings joy to the heart of American collectors, for technical phraseology so often presents difficulties to a foreign reader. It is to be hoped that Professor von Rath may also include translated summaries of the various changes in method described in his present Preface; and that such other explanations as may from time to time occur in the third and succeeding volumes may each, in turn, be

accompanied by brief translations in the languages in which the Introduction to Volume I is soon to appear.

A point which is frequently misunderstood by American bookmen is the Kommission's method of crediting the location of copies. In order to bridge the interval before the promised translation of the Introduction, the following note secured from Dr. Crous may be of interest. Whenever—so Dr. Crous writes me—

> we know of only a few copies, then we record them all. When we know of more than 10 copies, then we record only those belonging to libraries enumerated in the *Minerva*. If there are only a few which we do not record, we say: *und einige andere*. If there are more than 10 which we do not record, we say: *und zahlreiche andere*.

A volume issued near the beginning of a long series can hardly be considered as a thing in itself. Its individual statistics may prove to be misleading. It might better await the completion of the series and take its relative place in the consideration of the whole. Yet, since the whole is made up of the sum of its parts, it is surely quite safe to browse about a bit in the second volume of the *Gesamtkatalog*. Each of its lists of early printed books, given careful collation and bibliographical description under its various author-entries, is a finished product in itself. The volume, apart from its place in the series, thus has much to contribute to the bibliographical study of the fifteenth century.

Under the heading *Almanach*, for instance, the Kommission records 268 world-rarities, chronologically arranged for the years 1448–1501. Each *Almanach* is an anonymous single-sheet; each comprises the reckonings for one year only; almanacs comprising a series of years are to be found elsewhere under *Calendarium*. For those not coming within the arbitrary definition of *Almanach*, the reader is referred at the beginning of the section to *Affenschmalz* ("Satirical Almanacs"), *Calendarium*, *Practica*, or *Prognosticatio*. In addition, the almanacs that bear the names of their authors are given sixty or more cross-references, in their proper chronological places, to the names of the astronomers or mathematicians who

compiled them. No scheme of arrangement, so it seems, could be more simple or intelligible.

Although the majority of these *Almanache* were recorded in *Einblattdrucke* or were known to Schreiber, 18 of them were hitherto unrecorded. Only 11 were recorded by Hain. During the century since Hain's *Repertorium* was published, 257 have therefore come to light, and practically all of these are of extreme rarity. Prior to 1470—for the years 1448, 1457, and 1462—only one edition is known for each year and only one copy of each; for the intervening years no issues are at present known to be extant. From 1470 onward, one edition or more is recorded, the number seeming to increase with the passing of the years. One hundred and eighty-six editions are known in one copy only; 47 are known in two copies; 20 in three; 7 in four or more; and 8 others, although cited by earlier bibliographers, had not been located when this volume of the *Gesamtkatalog* went to press. Many of these rare titles are described as imperfect. Yet, altogether they give something of a picture of the popularity and usefulness of this form of printing during the fifteenth century. Many of them, doubtless, were intended as sheet-almanacs to be pinned to the wall and replaced by a similar sheet at the end of the year. Like all ephemeral publications, each fragment that has survived the ages is a rarity and each has its own story to tell. The wonder is that so many still exist.

The addition of the fourteen almanacs (one in two states, and one of these in duplicate) in the Huntington Library that are now on record in the manuscript files of the *Second Census of 15th Century Books Owned in America* would, of course, alter this count somewhat—after discounting the fact that two copies were recorded as in booksellers' stock when the *Gesamtkatalog* was printed. The unlocated titles, for instance, would be reduced from eight to seven. For the Huntington Library has an apparently unique copy of No. 1526, the "Almanach auf das Jahr 1497" assigned to the press of Konrad Dinckmut of Ulm.

The delightful simplicity of arrangement that is evident in the

treatment of the almanacs is characteristic of the volume. In 27 or more instances a tabulated scheme of arrangement, or key, is printed at the beginning of each complicated series of editions. The most notable of these is the systemization of the works of Aristotle. And among the 151 author-entries comprised within the book, the simplified arrangement of the works of St. Ambrosius and Antoninus Florentinus would stand Aristotle a close second.

In each instance, works of a general nature are listed first. In the Aristotle the Greek edition of the *Opera* is followed by a chronological catalogue of the *Opera* in Latin. From there on, the remaining entries (the writings of Aristotle separately published) are arranged alphabetically from *De anima* through *De virtutibus*. The editions of each of these are listed chronologically or else grouped according to the commentaries or translations made by another hand. The fact that each title is printed as a running-title at the top of the page is an immense help to the reader. The entire section, a matter of 165 numbered titles, is preceded by an Index in which this scheme of arrangement is set forth, with the addition of analytical entries from the *Opera*, the *Ethica*, *Logica*, etc. Thus, the twenty main title-entries are swelled to 81 in this analytical index; and references are also given to commentators and translators.

A comparison of the American-owned copies of Aristotle recorded in the *Gesamtkatalog* with the 137 copies that are at present on record in the files of the *Second Census* reveals the following facts: The *Gesamtkatalog* records 90 American-owned copies, 3 of which have since been canceled for one reason or another; therefore of the 137 American-owned copies on record in the *Second Census*, the *Gesamtkatalog* records 87.

The section relating to Publius Faustus Andrelinus may be taken as typical of the work that has been done by the Kommission in identifying types. At least thirteen editions that were ranked by Copinger and Pellechet as being fifteenth-century imprints have been relegated in the *Gesamtkatalog* to the sixteenth century. The titles thus discarded are noted in the briefest possible form, un-

numbered, with bibliographical references and a note stating their reassigned dates. Thus the reader is advised that each title has received its full measure of consideration, whereas its omission would have left the reader in doubt as to whether its non-appearance were deliberate or not. Similar instances appear elsewhere in the volume, but none gives more striking evidence of the conscientious work of identification which is constantly going on behind the scenes.

An interesting visit a year ago to the headquarters of the *Gesamtkatalog* at Berlin gave the same impression of thoroughgoing, conscientious labor reduced in its method and administration to the simplest possible terms.

Margaret Bingham Stillwell
Editor, The Second Census of 15th Century Books Owned in America

WIEGENDRUCK-GESELLSCHAFT

At the annual meeting of the Wiegendruck-Gesellschaft (the Incunabula Society), which was held at Dresden on October 29, 1927, Mr. Lathrop C. Harper, of 8 West Fortieth Street, New York, was elected honorary treasurer for America; and Miss Stillwell, honorary secretary for America. The Society was organized in 1924, when the Retrenchment Law had forced the German government to curtail the funds available for the preparation of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.* It exists for the dual purpose of contributing to the bookish interests of its members and of supplementing the needs of the *Gesamtkatalog.*

The Dresden meeting was specially timed to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Dr. Konrad Haebler, first president of the Kommission für den *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and a dean among the world's incunabulists. The following interesting note has been received from the Society's *Schriftführer*, Dr. Ernst Crous:

> We had our annual meeting on October 29th a.c. at Dresden. We honoured Dr. Haebler on his 70th birthday by a speech from our president, by having him portrayed, and by an address of congratulation. Scholderer and Goldschmidt from London, Collijn from Stockholm and many German scholars, collectors, booksellers and librarians were present. The Dresden State Library arranged an exhibition of a number of very fine Incunabula. In the members' meeting an annual report was read to the effect that more than 10,000 marks [i.e., more than $2,500] could be given to sustain the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.*

SHELBURNE COLLECTION

University College of the University of London has recently come into possession of a collection from the library of the Earl of Shelburne, British prime minister at the close of the American Revolution, consisting of about 2,450 pamphlets and tracts, bound in 331 volumes, marked with his armorial book-plate. The pamphlets, ranging in date from 1589 to 1780, are mostly political in content, and, when made available for use, may shed an interesting light upon Lord Shelburne's political opinions and the sources from which they were derived.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

One of the most important and interesting of recent bibliographies is *A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language from the Beginning of Printing to the End of 1922*, by Arthur G. Kennedy, associate professor of English in Stanford University (Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard University Press, Gale University Press, 1927). It aims to provide all students of English "with a simple but complete book of reference" and to assist the special student of linguistics in his investigations. It includes material dealing "rather with the scientific study of English than the artistic," hence works treating of literary style and the art of expression, rhetorics, and textbooks on composition (published after 1800), and all studies of versification are omitted; so also elementary textbooks since 1800, and articles of an elementary nature. It embraces 13,402 entries numbered consecutively, many of which record several editions of a work, as well as reviews of it, grouped in ten chapters, each subdivided by topics and subtopics. The main divisions or chapters are: (i) "General Collections: Bibliographical Guides, Periodicals, etc."; (ii) "General and Historical Writings"; (iii) "English Paleography"; (iv) "English and other Languages (Comparative Studies)"; (v) "Anglo-Saxon or Old English"; (vi) "Middle English"; (vii) "Modern English"; (viii) "Recent Tendencies in English"; (ix) "History of the Study of the English Language"; (x) "Theory and Method of the Study and Teaching of English." Most of these chapters are subdivided by the (lettered) sections: "General Studies," "Pronunciation and Spelling," "Derivation and Classification of Words and Inflection," "Syntax," "Semasiology," "Miscellaneous." Subdivisions under these lettered sections are numbered in Arabic, and these again are divided by topics indi-

cated by small letters. Under each division and subdivision the arrangement is chronological, except where the alphabetical order is more natural and convenient (e.g., under "Periodicals," "Studies of Individual Authors and Monuments," and "Studies of Special Words").

Each entry consists of serial number and author's name (inverted) in heavy type, full title, place of publication, publisher, date, collation, and dates of later editions, if any. In a line below reviews are indicated, and occasionally explanatory or descriptive notes are added. Where the book has not been examined the authority is given in brackets. A list of abbreviations and definitions, an Index of Authors and Reviewers, referring to serial number of entries, and an Index of Subjects, referring to page, complete the book. The Subject Index includes a number of topics not specially named in the body of the work.

The appearance of the page is pleasing, the entries clear, except that the date by which most of them are arranged is rather obscured by the items following (i.e., collation, and dates of later editions). One wishes the date, as well as the serial number, could have been in heavy type. Titles and anonymous entries are rather hard to trace from the Index. Recent critical texts are omitted except such general collections as the *Early English Text Society Series*, *Palaestra*, readers, and similar compilations, but early texts are included when of historical interest.

The work has many attractive features, and evidently involved much labor ("fourteen years of research"). The historical or chronological arrangement of many sections adds greatly to the interest. The alphabetic order is as welcome where convenience has decided its use. Some of the many interesting sections may be mentioned: Collections of facsimiles and Facsimiles of special literary monuments (under Paleography); Foreign and English grammars and primers (to about 1650 A.D.); Foreign and English dictionaries (for the same period); the Index to special studies of words, of place and personal names, under each period; Dictionaries and concord-

ances of special authors or books; Special vocabularies, arranged by subject, aeronautics, agriculture, etc.; English philologists, arranged alphabetically; Children's English; and many others of interest. The longest sections are probably those devoted to Modern English dictionaries (24 pp.) and to Dialects. The longest single entry is that of the *New* (or Oxford) *English Dictionary* (4 pp.) in chapter ii.

It is interesting to note the great preponderance of German works among the foreign titles listed, also to note the names occurring most often in the Index. Skeat occupies the greatest space there, and next to him, Ferdinand Holthausen. Of course reviews swell the entries under many names.

English scholars all over the world owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Kennedy for this most interesting and useful work.

J. E. C.

SHL LONDON WITHDRAWN

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PARTS ONE AND TWO

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, which was founded in 1904 during the Conference of Librarians at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, on the initiative of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, has for its object the promotion of bibliographical research and the printing of bibliographical productions. The Society has met semi-annually since that date. The annual meeting is ordinarily held in connection with the American Library Association. A winter meeting is frequently held in connection with the American Historical Association. At these meetings many papers of interest to bibliographers, book collectors, and librarians have been read, and these have been published in the volumes of the Society's PAPERS.

Any person interested in the object of the Society and approved by the Council may become a member upon payment of $3.00 a year. Names may be submitted to any officer of the Society.

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